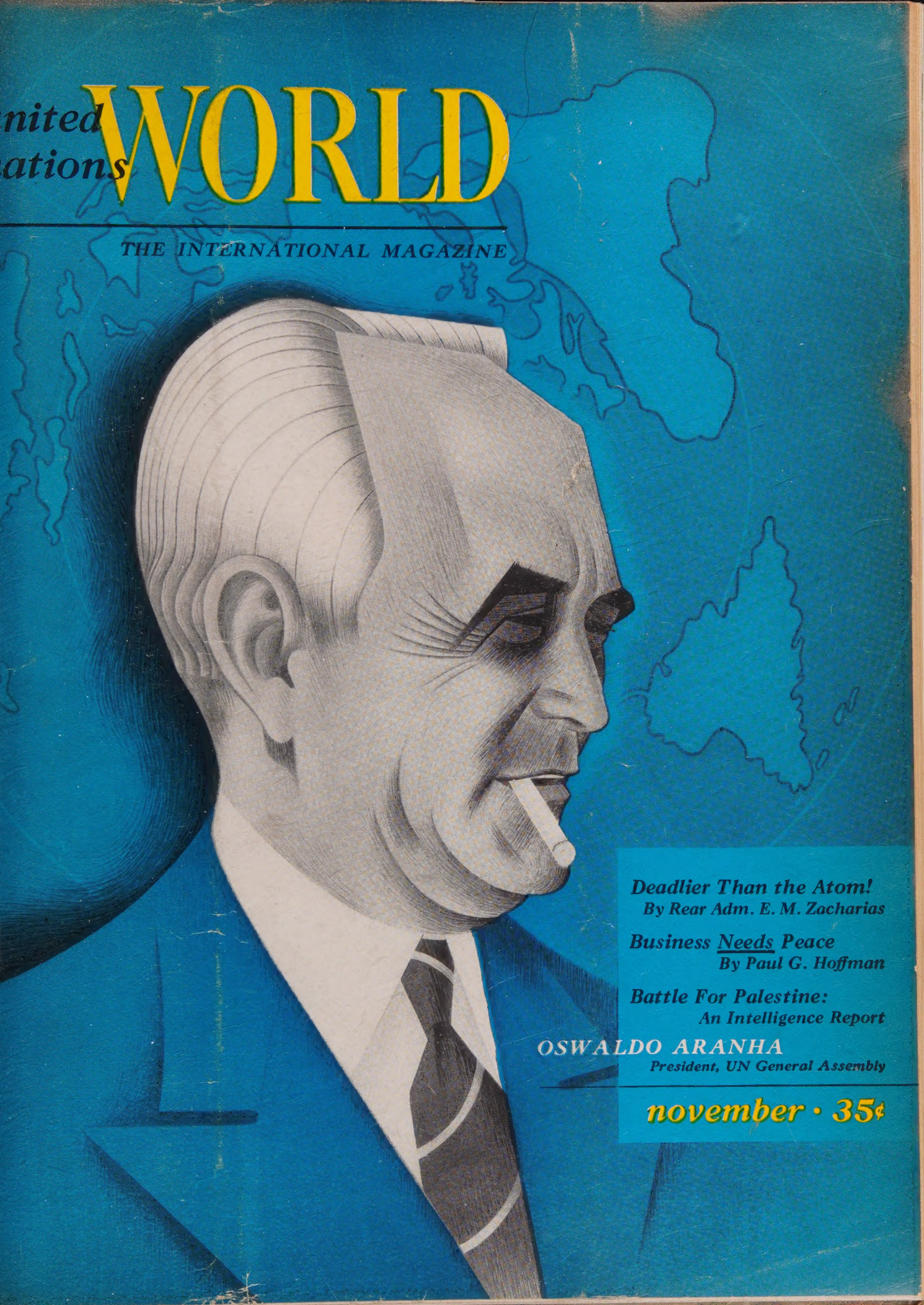
United Nations WORLD

THE INTERNATIONAL MAGAZINE



Deadlier Than the Atom!
By Rear Adm. E. M. Zacharias

Business Needs Peace
By Paul G. Hoffman

Battle For Palestine:
An Intelligence Report

OSWALDO ARANHA
President, UN General Assembly

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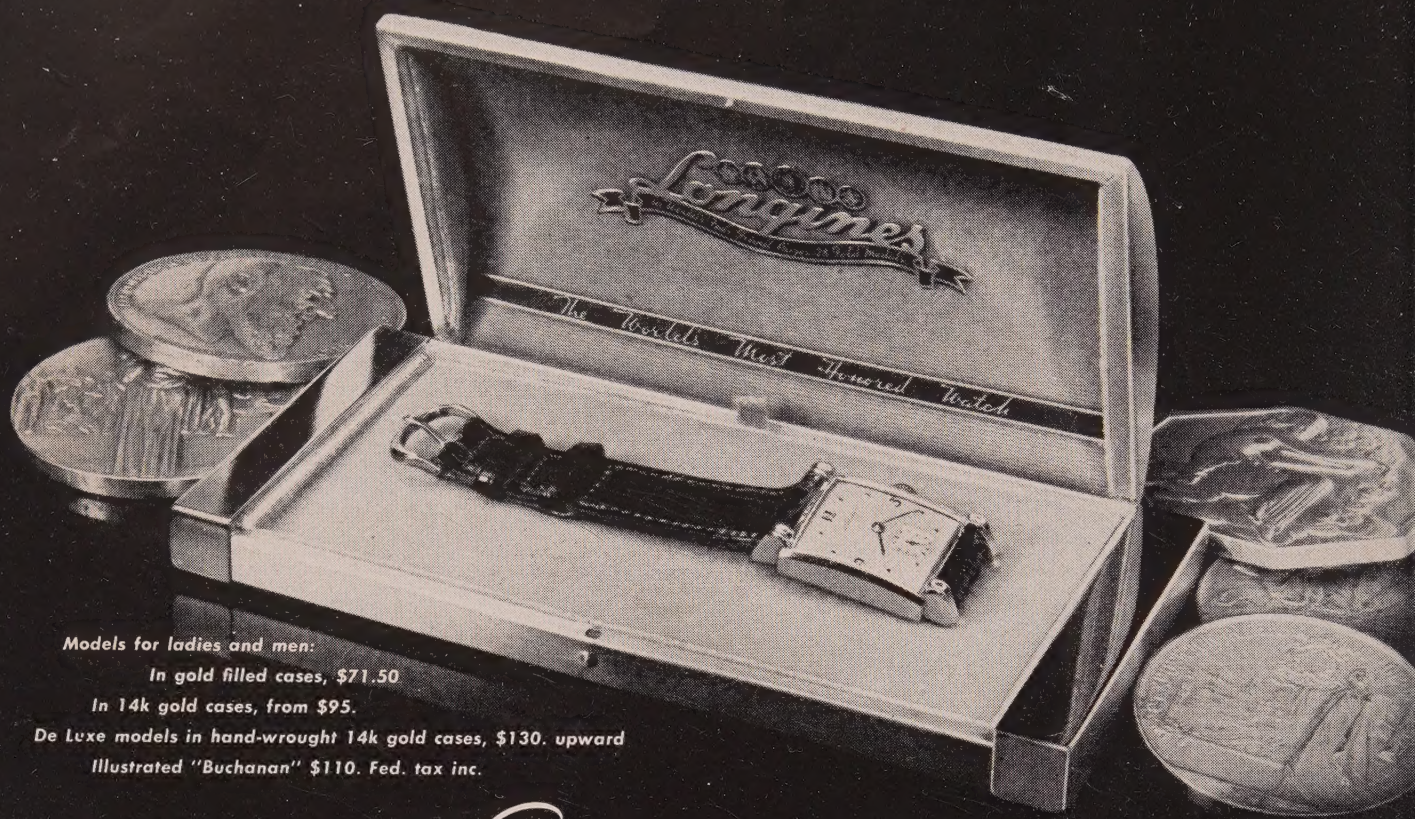

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The Flow of Scholars

The world would be a better place to live in if we had a tremendous exchange of foreign scholars to American universities, and conversely, a greater flow of American scholars to foreign universities especially Moscow. (I believe in personal freedom and free enterprise.) I want to see our young people studying at the North Pole and the South Pole, and both hemispheres. One decent law-abiding American scholar in a foreign city does more for America than any propaganda.

ANTHONY ARTHUR KOPAZ
UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN
DUBLIN, EIRE

United States of Europe

I do wish that we could have some articles in it (UNW) more in line with what is happening at the present time . . . A lot of us over here in the Labor Party, who are very keen on world peace, want discussion of it to proceed on the basis of extending the area of government, because it is only a government which has power such as the U.S.A. or the U.S.S.R. that can ultimately ensure law and order.

The prime problem is to get a government in Europe. A United States of the 14 states of Europe now at Paris would be an enormous step towards world peace, because you will never get a world organization which has power out of 66 nations, some big and some small. When you are able to create areas of government in Russia, Europe, America, China, India and Africa, each of them mostly self-sufficient, then we shall be able to think in terms of creating some kind of world government.

R.W.G. MACKAY, M.P.
HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON, ENGLAND

What's Wrong with French?

In reply to the Yugoslav Consul's letter (UNW, September), I agree that there should be an international language. But why start learning a new language, when diplomats of all countries have always used French. As Vincent Sheean pointed out in the last issue, errors are made in translation. We do not have the time to learn a new language.

GEORGE D. HEBERT, JR.
NEW BRITAIN, CONNECTICUT

Iron in Our Biceps

A handclasp over the miles, as we seem to be going the same way. Surely a united world is the only hope of the millions of distraught people on earth. More iron to your biceps. You're doing a magnificent job.

DR. ALEXANDER CAIRNS
RICHMOND, MAINE

The Flags Were Numbered

After Sunday night's meeting, when we organized the Hadlyme Little UN . . . one teen-ager was looking through the May issue of UNITED NATIONS WORLD. His expression on reaching page 9 was, "Oh Gee look here, on this page the flags are all numbered so you can tell which country they belong to." He did not close the magazine until he had checked each one, turning from page 9 to the colored front page for each flag. Then he sauntered away in a thoughtful satisfied manner as though at last he had found something he had long wanted.

MRS. HOWARD RICHARDSON
HADLYME, CONNECTICUT

Shortage in Tel Aviv

My cousin, who lives in the turbulent city of Tel Aviv, Palestine . . . states that he and many others there and in other parts of Palestine have heard of your publication of renown, but unfortunately it has not been made available to them.

ALEXANDER SCHOLNICK
BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Theatrical Request

As a representative of a theater organization with heartfelt ideals and hopes—American Repertory Theater here in Hollywood—I would dearly love to see some information on world theater and its revival or lack of it, in your magazine. Theater can aid peace and progress tremendously if rightly used, and needs representation on the world front. The film industry is not the alpha and omega of theater, despite its influence. I refer you respectfully to the July meeting in Paris, France, of the theatrical profession in the interest of world cooperation and peace.

MARGARET DRUMMOND
HOLLYWOOD, CALIFORNIA

Plenty in Switzerland

In the June number . . . it is stated that Switzerland, like Britain, is on a much more restricted diet than ever in war time. To this I can reply at length. Delicate white bread—missed for so long—has come back to stay. Meat is now served at almost every meal, and fish only once a week. Sugar is now given out more freely in the tea rooms and cafes. On the free list, for a long time past, we have had eggs, honey and jams . . . We have always had a little of everything. We . . . have nothing but wonder and praise for the country that has sheltered us and cared for us so well.

MRS. PETER SWEENEY
(an American)
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

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"Mankind" vs. "Humanity"

I disagree with Mr. V. Sheean on his stipulation of the word "humanity." (See UNW September). The German word Menschheit is best rendered in English by "mankind" and includes the whole of the species without regard to character. But humanity, like the adjectives "humane" and "humanitarian," conveys much more closely the meaning of Menschlichkeit, menschlich and zum Wohle der Menschen, without regard to quantity of individuals. I therefore believe on the contrary that the translation Menschlichkeit is psychologically well chosen, even if academically not absolutely equivalent.

ERNEST W. OPPENHEIM
TORONTO, CANADA

Error in Honduras

I read and enjoy your magazine and in the September issue, which reached me promptly, I found an interesting UNW Picture story: The Inter American Highway. However, I found two errors in Mr. Adrian Williams' excellent report: 1) San Lorenzo is not Honduras' only Pacific port. There is Amapola, for instance . . .; 2) The Choluteca bridge, I understand, was built at U.S. and Honduras expense too. Both participated.

JORGE FIDEL DURON
TEGUCIGALPA, HONDURAS

"Please Send Nine Cents"

I hate subscriptions and felt sunk when yours was given to me as a present. I'll be glad when it is ended. I like to buy my magazines wherever I am. In traveling all over the world . . . magazines followed me from country to country till I nearly went mad. That doesn't mean I don't like you. I love you. I love you so much that I mail the magazine to somebody else when I've finished with it but I just hate this business of "Please send 9 cts. for package at above P.O."

JANE BURR
WOODSTOCK, N. Y.

Toward the Cataract

The U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are preparing war in a terrible race against each other. The awful danger is that on one side or the other the war may be precipitated before the UN is successful in working out international cooperation and world government. In that case, civilization would come crashing down about us all, like a house of cards . . . War can never drive Communism out or Democracy in. Total Peace is our one and only hope. Half way measures mean failure. God save us from this mad drift toward the cataract!

DR. MARY L. BENTON
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA

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These are two of the letters received from UN Delegates commenting on Professor Albert Einstein's Open Letter to the General Assembly which appeared in the October issue.

I consider that the remedies which Dr. Einstein proposes in his open letter (UNW, October), namely, giving increased authority to the General Assembly, providing for elected national representatives to the United Nations, and making it possible for the General Assembly to remain in continuous session, constitute constructive steps in the right direction. However, such measures would only remedy the weaknesses of the UN as presently organized. It is obvious that other more radical measures would be required for the establishment of what Dr. Einstein calls "a supra-national authority vested with sufficient legislative and executive powers to keep the peace."

For more than two years, since San Francisco, I have, in my own modest way, tried in the UN as well as outside, to arouse public interest in a number of these proposals. . . . It is my hope that an increasing number of clear-eyed and public-spirited men who have heretofore done their work in isolation from the turmoil of political life will continue, as has Dr. Einstein, to share their vision with the rest of mankind and lend their prestige in support of movements that by their wisdom and necessity are entitled to the allegiance of all men of good will.

CARLOS P. ROMULO
PHILIPPINE DELEGATE TO UN

I read with great interest the important open letter addressed by Dr. Einstein to the UN General Assembly.

It is unquestionable that the United Nations has not yet fulfilled its purpose, and that the Peace of the World and the existence of humanity are in serious danger. It is undeniable that the United Nations are not armed with means of efficacious action to fill the noble ideal which is their goal. But in order to achieve the unity of the world, which more and more seems to be an indispensable condition for the survival of mankind, many corners need to be rounded out. It is necessary that men and peoples remove from their hearts and minds certain false and preconceived ideas, certain egoisms, selfish passions destructive of tolerance, esteem, cooperation and brotherhood. Moral values must attain unshakable supremacy over all others. I am afraid that for some time to come the oneness of the world will be an unrealizable dream.

But the persevering efforts of such eminent apostles of peace as Dr. Einstein offer much hope.

JOSEPH D. CHARLES
HAITIAN DELEGATE TO UN

life in our WORLD

An amazing collection of odds and ends having to do with life and times of humanity in the Atomic Age.

Guardians of "Public Health"

No concealment nor camouflage was intended when the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission was housed in the palatial Washington building whose facade bears the inscription: Public Health Service. The palace was in fact erected to provide headquarters for Surgeon General Parran and his doctors several years ago. But circumstances beyond the Surgeon General's control have always prevented him from taking possession of his own headquarters.

Upon completion shortly before the outbreak of World War II, the building on Constitution Avenue was immediately turned over to the Joint and Combined Chiefs of Staffs, the highest military authority of the Western Allies. The big board room, where doctors were supposed to plot campaigns against tuberculosis, cancer and VD, became the scene of far greater plots for more sinister campaigns. The brew such doctors as Admiral King and Generals Marshall and Arnold

DRAWINGS BY HAL McINTOSH

concocted in those laboratories proved deadly for Hitler and his friends.

When the war ended, Dr. Parran looked forward to putting the Hippocratic oath where Mars used to have his shingle. But again his palace was requisitioned, this time for David Lilienthal and his fellow commissioners. Washington knows the building well, if only for the elaborate security measures which are by now perennially connected with it. During the war, Marines used to guard it day and night. Wartime security measures were reintroduced the day Mr. Lilienthal moved into his office on the second floor.

The other day an out-of-town visitor, unaware of the new role to which the Public Health Building is dedicated, expressed his bafflement at the elaborate protective measures he encountered.

"Say," he told one of the guards, "Uncle Sam is sure careful of his health!"

Victory Diet

There will be less bread on French tables this winter. The 1947 wheat harvest will total less than half the average pre-war yield because of frosts and drought. The Government has ordered the daily bread ration cut from 250 to 200 grams per person (7 oz. a day—a third of a loaf of French bread). Now France has the lowest bread ration of any Western European country. In the Berlin Zone of Germany, the daily bread ration per person is 400 grams (14 oz.); heavy workers get 600 grams (1 lb., 6 oz.).

Drowned Blessings

China is suffering from lack of forests. For thousands of years the Embroidery-Washing River has successfully irrigated the Chengtu plain—ever since Li Bin (390-310 B.C.) initiated the irrigation works at Kwen Hsien. But this summer the river violently overflowed its banks, washing away the famous Ten Thousand Blessings Bridge, drowning many of Chengtu's inhabitants and leaving 100,000 homeless. Weeks of steady rainfall and a break in the Flying Sand Dike were the immediate cause, but "greedy woodcutters" on the mountainsides and a dearth of farsighted officials like Li Bin came in for a share of the blame.

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"We hold these truths to be self-evident . . ."

A statement of the rules followed by the editorial staff of UNITED NATIONS WORLD

1. There is no place in the world "distant" or "far" (from where?).

2. No place, culture, custom or people is "strange" (to whom), "exotic", "queer", or "bizarre".

3. People can be "illiterate" but never "ignorant"; they can be "simple" but never "backward".

4. Avoid any suggestion of the superiority or the inferiority of any race, color or religious group.

5. There are no "heathen", no "pagan cultures", no "Christian ideals" (except in direct discussion), and no "chosen people".

6. Avoid such meaningless cliches as "East is east and west is west, and never the twain shall meet"; "the sun never sets on the British Empire"; "the white man's burden"; or "the yellow peril".

7. Treat every national or local custom with the respect it deserves.

8. Avoid the word "natives" as it has been shaped by imperial custom; use it only in the exact sense, for example: as a "native" of New York—not "the native of New Guinea".

9. Avoid "we", "ourselves", etc., when referring to citizens of the U.S. or to Westerners in general. "We" are *all* the people.

10. There can be no preaching (*who* is in a position to preach and to *whom?*).

11. Give the FACTS. Be objective. The people will make up their own minds . . . and probably they will be pretty close to right!

12. "Important persons" includes everybody of good will.

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LIFE IN OUR WORLD *(continued)*

"The Miner Comes to Town"

Coal is the star of a large exhibit recently opened in London by Prime Minister Attlee. Entitled "The Miner Comes to Town," it will give Londoners a chance to see how miners work from the time

they enter the pit until the quitting whistle blows. Most popular display is the life-size model of a coal mine, complete with underground machinery.

Poor Politician

When the late beloved Tomás Berreta, president of Uruguay, died, he had only a life insurance policy of 8,000 pesetas ($4,000) and a small farm to leave his children. One of those intimate family episodes which would never have become public was revealed when the disposition of Berreta's limited means had to be published. On his deathbed, he asked his family if they could do without the life insurance policy, and live instead on the presidential pension the state would award them. When they agreed, he willed the entire policy to the poor children of his native town in Caneloles.

Footlight Footnotes from U.S.S.R.

Russians are looking forward to active drama seasons in coming years. The Soviet government plans to open 165 new theatres by 1950—making a total of 898 theatres and 41 opera houses. During the past season, increased interest was shown in drama from other countries. In addition to Shakespeare (whose "Romeo and Juliet" and "Othello" were much lauded), Russians applauded plays by Lope de Vega, Oscar Wilde (who enjoyed a similar revival in New York), George Bernard Shaw, and Sophocles' "Electra." A special hit was the American play, "Deep Are the Roots," by James Gow and Arnaud D'Usseau, which dealt with the Negro problem.

"Accessories of Catastrophe"

Singapore merchants report a flood of letters from Tokyo concerns anxious to revive prewar business contacts. In typical Japanese vein, one such letter published in the *Straits Times Press* begins: "Dear Sir: . . . More than a year has elapsed since the doves of peace came back with eternal spring after the many accessories of catastrophe brought by the hapless war. . ."

Help Wanted in New Zealand

New Zealand's unemployment hit an all-time low this year, with only 35 persons receiving unemployment benefits—last year it was 170. Only 28 of 179,096 veterans recorded with the Rehabilitation Department needed help in hunting jobs.

Republic of Students

The new state of Viet Nam boasts that it is a Republic of Students—seven per cent of the Deputies in its National Assembly are under 25, and 70 per cent under 40. Among the 25 members of the Viet-Namese Cabinet which took office in July are five doctors, four professors, two lawyers and one former Emperor—the latter (known under the French regime as Emperor Bao Dai), being listed as "Supreme Adviser Mr. Vinh Thuy, Former Emperor of Viet Nam."

The "New Look" in Iran

Clothing merchants in Tabriz, Iran's second largest city, are doing a rushing business in second-hand American clothes for both men and women. In front of their stores the clothes may be seen strung on racks or tied to trees, to attract the passer-by. As if to confirm this tendency, the Indian Government

Trade Commissioner in Teheran reports that, though Indian spices, cotton piecegoods and other items are in good demand in Iran, there is no market for Indian saris or brocade piecegoods "because the upper and middle classes are taking to Western styles of dress."

Detention de Luxe

Penologists throughout the world regard the prison situated in the heart of New York's Greenwich Village as the world's swankiest. In fact, the inmates of the House of Detention for Women, as this de luxe prison is called, live far more comfortably than some of the bohemians who inhabit the surrounding *ateliers*. It is probably the only prison with hot and cold running water in every cell and a circulating library, rolling from cell to cell, to serve the intellectual needs of the inmates. Among other curios of this unique prison is a chapel with a revolving altar. When Protestant services are over, a button is pushed and the altar is turned to provide another for Catholic and a third

for Jewish services. An unwittingly ironic note is injected in the decorations provided for the barren grey walls of the prison. Inmates look out from between the bars of their cells are invited to "Visit the Sunny South" or "Take a Trip to Mexico in the Fall."

Peru Props Co-ops

Peruvian cooperatives have gotten a big boost from the national government. By a recent law all manufacturing, agricultural, mining and commercial enterprises employing 50 or more persons must help organize consumers' cooperatives among their workers. The movement has been successful wherever tried in Peru. The government has already recognized 100 co-ops.

Exalted Cremation

Siam's late King Ananda Mahidel, who has lain in state for over a year, will be cremated in March, 1948. A special crematorium is being erected in the center of Bangkok "with consideration for the present economic situation but at the same time," as Siam's Premier, Rear-Admiral Dhamrong Navasvasti put it, "not unworthy of the exalted purpose for which it is intended." Meantime Siamese will continue to be admitted to Duset Hall where the King in the Golden Urn awaits state cremation.

Astrobotany

Latest arrival on the scientific scene is "astrobotany"—a combination of astronomy and botany. Developed in Russia it studies plants in different climes at varying altitudes. Its purpose? To find a clue to the properties of plants that grow on Mars and other planets. Research is led by Gabriel Tikhov, who, after 40 years of study, believes that the leaves of Martian plants darken during the arid summer and are shed in winter.

Silver Lining Note

Norwegian children had less cavities in their teeth during the war than before it. Speaking in Boston, a Norwegian dentist reported that tooth decay dropped 60 percent between 1939 and 1945. Less white flour, cake and sweets—more vegetables, root crops, fish and fish oil, said Prof. Toverud, accounts for the improved condition of children's teeth.

Poland's Recovery

Poland's Three Year Plan has so far been almost 100% successful. The Ministry of Industry and Commerce has released a report covering the first half of 1947 for industries subject to state control (power, coal, smelting, agricultural machinery, machine tool production and textiles). All but two—machine tool and cotton industries—exceeded the goal set.

Unpopularity Poll

Who is the No. 1 Villain on the international scene? Almost everyone has his candidate these days but opinions differ in the Netherlands. Of Communist voters, 77 percent think Uncle Sam is "out to dominate the world" and 47 percent of the Labor voters agree. But on the other side, 74 percent of those who voted for the Catholic People's Party and the Freedom Party tickets, put the blame on Uncle Joe. Runners-up in this unpopularity poll: Great Britain, Japan, Germany.

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How New York Reacts to the UN

Subject: How do you like having the United Nations headquarters located in your city?

Participants: 1341 adult New York City residents.

Official New York City was jubilant when the Rockefeller offer of 17 acres was made to the UN to establish its permanent home on the East River. But what is the average citizen's response? Rosalind Tough and Ruth G. Weintraub, associate professors at New York's Hunter College, conducted a survey and made a complete study with student assistance.

• People in all five boroughs of New York were interviewed from the northern tip of the Bronx to the south shore of Staten Island, including uptown Harlem and downtown Chinatown. In the attempt to reach a representative cross section of New York opinion, blocks in each borough were selected that contained dwellers from low, medium and high rental levels to assure proportionate representation of different socio-economic groups. These are the findings:

• The majority of the New Yorkers want the United Nations located in their metropolis. Of the 1341 persons interviewed, 70.7 per cent answered in the affirmative.

• Local pride had much to do with the affirmative answers. The most popular reason given was "New York City is the logical site." Next came "good for business," voiced most often by the men interviewed. Favorite reasons offered by the opposition were "New York City is too congested" and "apartments are too scarce." With surprising frequency appeared the comment that "the UN is a failure."

• On the question, "Should the United Nations get tax exemption," only 52.3 per cent of those interviewed approved. Opposition to tax exemption fell into two major categories: fear of increased taxes and antagonism to the concept of the United Nations. Typical statements were "taxes are high enough," and "the UN should pay taxes like everyone else."

• Eighty-three per cent of the Negroes in contrast to 70.7 per cent of the total population interviewed wanted the UN headquarters located in New York; but 60 per cent of the Negroes in contrast to a 43 per cent opposition of the city as a whole opposed tax exemption. It is suggested that the relatively large part of the Negro dollar spent for housing and the fear that tax exemption might be reflected in increased rentals is responsible for this attitude.

• It is generally believed that young people are more liberal than the older generation. But twice as many New Yorkers between the ages of 20 and 40 were opposed to the UN location in New York as were those over 40. Explanation offered is that they are more adversely affected by the housing shortage than the older group.

• Families in the highest and in the lowest income group—those above $5,000 and below $2,000—showed less opposition than those in the middle income brackets. Opinions expressed revealed that men are no better informed or articulate on world issues than are women; that the reactions bore no relation to the amount of education, or religious affiliations.

• In spite of the generally favorable response, the authors of the survey conclude that the 30 per cent opposition to UN headquarters in New York and the even greater opposition to UN tax exemption indicate the need for a mass program of community education. The essential objectives of the UN should be siphoned through every information medium to which the adult New Yorker is exposed. Increased effort should be made to attract citizens to UN headquarters to observe the world capital in action. An increasing majority of the people in New York City must achieve a favorable, directly interested attitude toward the world community.

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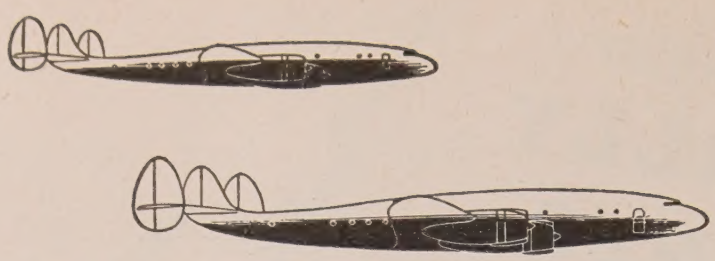

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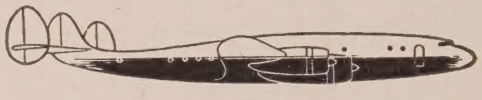

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LOOK TO LOCKHEED FOR LEADERSHIP

introductions

R. ADM. E. M. ZACHARIAS, USN (Ret.) ....*"Absolute Weapons," P. 13*

Deputy Chief of Naval Intelligence during the war, Rear Admiral Zacharias also commanded the heavy cruiser *Salt Lake City* and the battleship *New Mexico* in five major Pacific battles. He is considered by many the foremost authority on international military intelligence. Experts hailed his recently published book *Secret Missions* as an "historic document."

PAUL G. HOFFMAN.....*author of "U. S. Business Needs Peace," P. 21*

Paul G. Hoffman began his career in 1911 as a salesman in Los Angeles for the Studebaker Corporation. In 1935 he became its president. A progressive businessman he is also Chairman of the Committee for Economic Development, a non-profit, non-political group formed in 1942 to help achieve a more stable economy through a high level of employment and production.

JULIAN S. HUXLEY..... *author of "UNESCO: The First Year," P. 43*

Member of a famous British writing family, Julian Huxley's interest in universal education was so well-known that he was chosen Director General of UNESCO. He brought to this job great understanding and rich experience as a scientist, educator, philosopher, author and lecturer. Into his crowded working schedule he still makes time for relaxation in the light sports.

HERNANE TAVARES de SA *author of "Aranha of Brazil," P. 28*

In May, 1943, Dr. Tavares gave up his biology professorship at the University of Sao Paulo and Brazilian government two-year assignment to study American systems of higher education, to join Nelson Rockefeller in the wartime Office of Inter-American Affairs. A former contributor to UNW, he is author of the recent U.S. best-seller, *The Brazilians—People of Tomorrow.*

SIR WILLIAM HILDRED *"Boom on the World's Airlanes," P. 32*

Sir William Percival Hildred, C.B., O.B.E., Director General of the International Air Transport Association, entered aviation in 1938 as deputy director of civilian aviation in the United Kingdom. Decorated by the Dutch and British for his war service, he became first permanent British Minister of Civil Aviation in 1944 before assuming his present job in 1946.

HAROLD CLURMAN....*author of "Paris, France, Then and Now," P. 60*

A native New Yorker, educated at Columbia University and the Sorbonne, Clurman was a founder of the Group Theater in 1931. He produced and directed plays by Clifford Odets, Sidney Kingsley and William Saroyan. He is currently co-producer of the prize-winning play "All My Sons," author of the *Fervent Years* published in 1945, and writes a column for *Tomorrow.*

WOULD YOU LIKE TO KNOW HOW TO THINK about the UNITED NATIONS

WHETHER the United Nations succeeds or fails depends greatly upon whether it is properly understood, vigilantly watched, and properly encouraged — or intelligently criticized. **Yet, surveys reveal that *few* understand the real purposes of the United Nations, and *most* have no real idea about whether it is succeeding or failing — or why.**

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Publisher's Letter

Dear Reader:

We hope the newly-designed cover of UNITED NATIONS WORLD came to you as a pleasant surprise. Personally, we were fond of our old lozenge-shaped box with the words "United," "Nations" and "World" all of equal size, but some of our readers and distributors didn't agree.

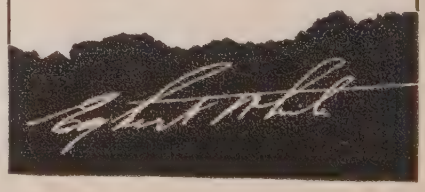
They complained that the name didn't stand out clearly on newsstands. The new design is intended to correct that difficulty. It will also allow us to use more varied and attractive cover illustrations.

You may notice, too, that the magazine has been restyled throughout with new and consistent department heads and new type-faces for both headlines and text. Our aim, of course, is to increase readability and attractiveness.

We have no intention, however, of abandoning any of your favorite features. We will still offer, in every issue, "scoop" articles from exclusive sources available to us at the United Nations and elsewhere throughout the world. We shall continue to publish the best in human interest stories. We shall not flag in our zeal to keep you abreast of what is happening in the world. We intend to expand our coverage of UN activities, already the most complete to be found anywhere.

We would appreciate your letters telling us how you like these changes and what suggestions you may have for further improvement. Remember, this is *your* magazine. Our actions are largely guided by your demands.

Cordially,



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Vol. 1 No. 9

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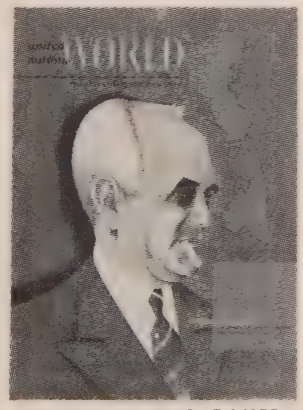

THIS MONTH'S COVER
This portrait of Aranha was done from life by talented young U.S. artist, Sam Norkin

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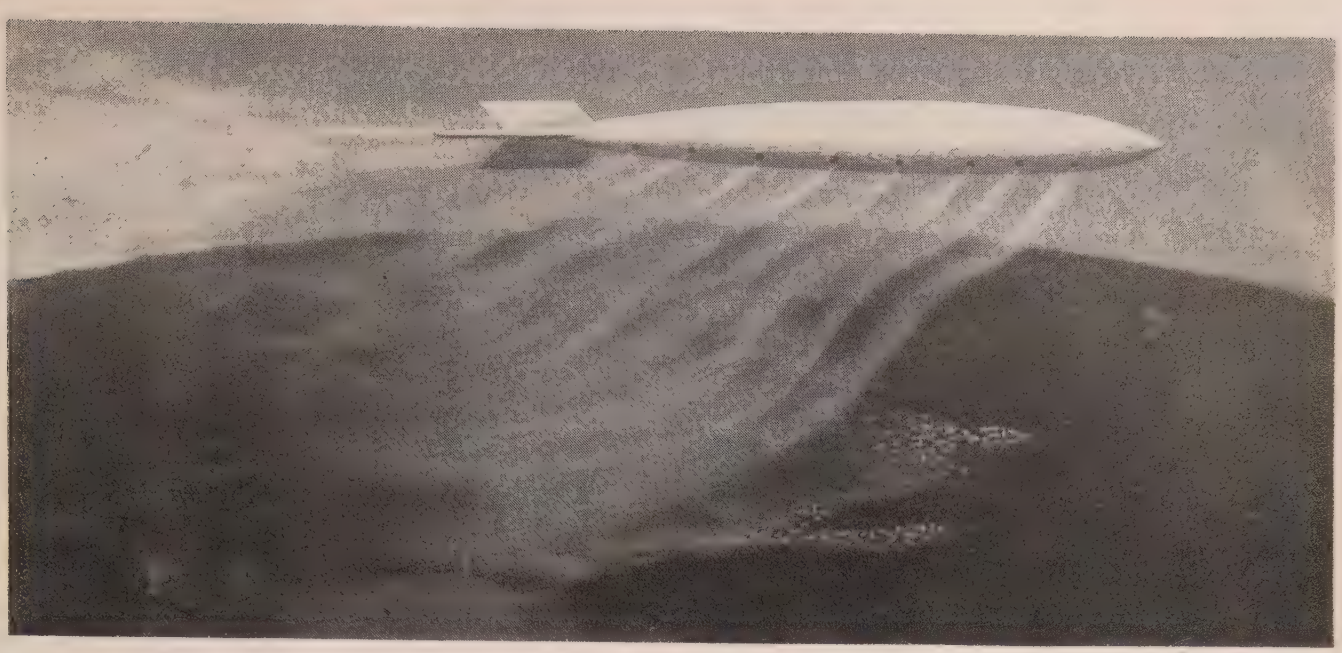


ABSOLUTE WEAPONS

. . . . . more deadly than the atom

If every atom bomb and facilities for its manufacture were destroyed tomorrow, there would still be available weapons that could wipe out the last vestige of human, animal and vegetable life.

BY REAR ADMIRAL ELLIS M. ZACHARIAS, USN (RET.)
Wartime Deputy Chief of Naval Intelligence

THE atom bomb continues to fill the souls of men with a sense of impending disaster—and properly so. It is an "absolute" weapon, which means it is capable of exterminating human life entirely. It is no longer a secret that the bombs dropped at Nagasaki and Hiroshima were of a primitive type already obsolete when they were used. We now have bombs fifty times more powerful.

The inability of the nations of the world to unite in controlling this menace to human survival is a sad tale too well known to bear repetition here. But let us assume that by a sudden miracle, the nations agreed immediately — tomorrow, for instance — to destroy every A-bomb in existence together with the facilities for their manufacture and set up a foolproof inspection agency to insure that no more were ever made. Would mankind then be safe?

No.

The fact is, that there are today in the arsenals of several of the great powers other absolute weapons, chemical, biological and climatological, more devastating than the atom. They are capable of exterminating the last vestige of human, animal and even vegetable life from the face of the earth. This is not a prediction of horrors to come. *These weapons exist. They are being manufactured right now, while you are reading these words.* They are not an American monopoly. Several nations are known to have them, to be making them, and to be improving them. Furthermore, unlike the atom bomb, they are of such a nature that smaller nations with limited industrial facilities are in a position to develop them.

It is neither possible nor prudent to provide a comprehensive inventory of the world's absolute weapons. The facts that have come to light have been the result of accident or hints, both calculated and unintentional.

In the spring of 1946, for instance, the indiscretion of an American Congressman revealed some information that the intelligence services of the world could never have gotten for love nor gold. Stating that "this nation is in possession of scientific factors which place it in an enviable position," he revealed the existence of a "secret biological weapon far more devastating than the atomic bomb." He added that American

> *"A single milliliter of the highly infectious psittacosis virus could kill 20 million men. This virus can be produced cheaply in bulk by a small laboratory anywhere in the world."*

ABSOLUTE WEAPONS *(continued)*

scientists, working in the laboratories of the University of California, "have developed a weapon that can wipe out all forms of life in a large city." A few days later it was revealed, in a War Department report to Congress, that this new weapon which, in the words of a Congressman "could destroy the two Dakotas in one air raid," was actually being manufactured "somewhere in Central Indiana."

This was not the only revelation of those nonchalantly carefree days following the wake of victory. A week later a reputable American scientist stated that the United States had three secret weapons rather than one. The third he called an "implement of fission-product warfare." Since then rumors spoke of four and even five "secret weapons" which the United States had ready in the summer of 1945 to bring Japan to her knees even without the A-bomb.

Bacteriological warfare is known to have been under investigation and development by Germany and Japan and as a joint project by the U.S., United Kingdom and Canada. In a memorandum presented to the General Assembly in September, the American Association of Scientific Workers stated that a single gram of a botulinus toxin could kill seven million people. But this is a poison, less potent than certain other self-propagating and infectious materials. A routine unpurified preparation of the psittacosis virus, product of chick embryo yolk sac suspension, contains enough respiratory doses per milliliter to kill 20 million men! Moreover, this is a highly infectious disease. "Even if the efficiency were as low as .01 per cent," observe the scientists, "the potency of this material would still be extraordinarily high." What the scientists meant in plain English is that use of the psittacosis virus in warfare could depopulate entire cities.

"Preparations of psittacosis virus could easily be produced in liter amounts in a single small laboratory with only such equipment and materials as are common to virus laboratories throughout the world," the report continued. "The payload in a psittacosis 'bomb' could be cheaply and easily turned out in quantity . . . Bacteriological warfare . . . could be used to destroy men, animals or plants selectively—or merely to make them useless. It might be used to produce casualties in large numbers, or in such a way that only a few cases would be needed to demoralize the whole population . . . Bacterial warfare epitomizes the total war that is now or will very soon be ready for use."

The Soviets are Not Idle

Indiscretions are rare and far between in the USSR. Even so, occasional official disclosures show that the Soviet Union is by no means idle. Soviet scientific journals have revealed that investigations into the military applications of cosmic rays are proceeding at forced speed under the leadership of famed Professors Joffe and Kapitza. The Russians, the first to promote such investigations, appropriated considerable sums to finance them as long ago as 1930. They unquestionably have a pioneering advantage in this field. There is every reason to believe that the reports of the existence of vast research centers in the Pamirs devoted exclusively to these studies are true.

Of more immediate importance is the progress the Soviet Union is making in rocket development. This is another field in which it pioneered and was the first to achieve tangible results with the development of the multi-barrelled "Katusha" rocket gun. Current researches are no longer confined to tactical spheres but are conducted along strategic lines. Russian progress in long range rockets is not due entirely to the aid the Soviet Union now receives from German scientists who live and work in the USSR. When the Red Army captured Peenemuende, the major German rocket research center where the V-weapons were developed, it gained immediate access to both the Nazi scientists and their secrets. But the Russians had scored considerable successes in this field long before the Germans made their appearance on Soviet proving grounds.

The Russian scientist K. E. Tsiolkovsky is generally regarded as the founder of the rocket propulsion technique. He is at present most active in developing rockets that would carry "military personnel and supplies weighing several tons for a distance of several thousand miles." He is aided by Professor Yuri Pobedonostsev, a winner of the Stalin Prize, who has recently revealed that "Premier Stalin assigned to Soviet scientists the task of not only catching up with but surpassing in the immediate future rocket developments in foreign countries." He added that the actual appearance of this weapon "will revolutionize both the strategical and tactical concepts of war." He went so far as to say that "the country which attains the greatest success in the development of rockets will win the next war."

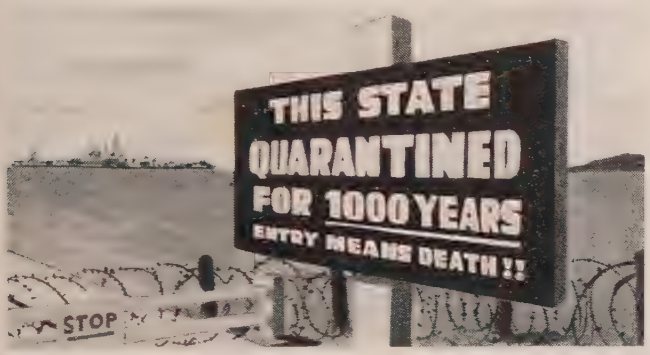
The most strenuous efforts are being made by the USSR to develop an A-bomb of its own. They will not need U.S. help to do it. Professor Harold Urey, a key figure in U.S. atomic research, recently stated that if we gave our scientific data to the Russians, we would probably confuse rather than aid them, by diverting their own advanced researches from the path they

are following independently.

Additional reports, the accuracy of which cannot be tested, credited the Russians with still other startling weapons, one of them using the principle of air compression in giant bombs. They also had access to the blueprints of various other non-conventional weapons the Germans left behind in their abandoned laboratories, especially in the Baltic centers of U-boat research and development.

Progress in Britain

The British also are making impressive progress with guided missiles, both in the United Kingdom and in a gigantic proving ground in Central Australia. Britain, too, has developed a series of underwater weapons, some of them invented by Italian naval architects who were encouraged to continue their investigations after Italy's collapse. These may not be "absolute weapons" by themselves. But they must be regarded as major subsidiaries, since both guided missiles and underwater developments are designed as the essential weapon carriers of a future war.



What all of these modern weapons, developed in the various countries, have in common are the following: First, they show but slight similarity to conventional armaments of the past; second, they permit the waging of inter-continental war from long distances, the "push-button war"; third, they are designed to destroy enormous areas with all the life and property existing within them. These weapons have a decisive strategic, rather than a local tactical, significance.

The secret biological weapon of the United States illustrates these facts in the most graphic way. It is said to be "a germ proposition sprayed from aircraft or rockets flying so high as to be impervious to anti-aircraft fire, capable of destroying whole cities and thousands of acres of crops." Like most of these new weapons, it is believed to be remarkably cheap to produce, especially in view of its destructive power and decisive effectiveness.

Conventional Arms are Antiquated

The full extent of the revolutionary change that has come about in the concept of warfare is not generally recognized. In the light of these developments, our most cherished conventional armaments—aircraft carriers, long-range bombers, lava-spouting incendiary bombs and automatically-fed heavy guns—represent an era of warfare which will never again return. I agree with Admiral Schoeffel of U.S. Naval Ordnance who said: "It will never again be possible for us to depend upon dusting off the weapons of a previous conflict when war breaks out. It would be like reverting to the bow and arrow."

Yet we are still in the earliest stages of this revolutionary era. The weapons of this epoch, however formidable they may appear, are still at a primitive stage, capable of far greater development. If war comes they may never develop any farther because the destructive power of these weapons, even in their present stage, threatens not alone the continued existence of individuals or nations but all mankind itself. They are of such a nature that their lethal quality continues long after their actual use, jumping international boundaries and the broad oceans themselves. The area subject to their influence will have to be quarantined not only to keep people from entering but to keep those inside from getting out to contaminate others. Even the strictest quarantine may not help since it is impossible to prevent the migration back and forth of insects and plant life or to stop the wind from carrying lethal dust to the unaffected areas. It may be 1,000 years before those blasted areas will again support life of any kind.

The Only Defense

There is no defense against absolute war, except to make war itself obsolete. There is much glib talk about sinking our industries below the surface of the earth and moving our factories into caves. It is estimated that it would take 25 years and require an expenditure of 300 billion dollars to move the essential war industries alone below ground. Untold billions more would be needed to disperse our cities and eliminate the concentrations of humanity which are the actual centers of our civilization.

Even then this incredible expenditure would be wasted since such defensive measures would be entirely useless against the other modern weapons at which we have hinted.

Leaders, aware of the military facts of life, are making strenuous efforts to bring about both total disarmament and the controls necessary to make it effective. The subject has been placed on the agenda of the UN General Assembly for consideration during the current session. I am afraid, however, that in the intense political atmosphere prevailing, only inadequate or superficial solutions can be reached.

It may be appropriate therefore to contemplate the following urgent proposals to amplify the measures now before the UN:

A special session of the General Assembly should be called for the Spring of 1948 to consider outlawing the use of all absolute weapons in warfare as well as the regulation and reduction of conventional weapons.

The Commission must recognize that the whole arms question is one and indivisible and that regulation of conventional armaments alone is as inadequate a concept as the conventional weapons themselves.

The Commission must resolve that violations of the rule established for the restriction of armament should be placed above and beyond all veto limitations.

The Commission must provide immediately for the means of enforcing this decision.

If these or equally stringent emergency measures are not undertaken at once, humanity's days upon this earth are numbered.

LOMBARD C. JONES

AFTER *world war III...*

a fantasy about the absolutely absolute weapon

BY LESLIE TABI

Young Hungarian Playwright

(Three shabbily dressed men are sitting in what used to be the main street of a ruined city.)

First Man: . . . the trouble was that the front ran too close to our house. Toward the end, Brazilians were fighting in the bathroom while some Swedes were breaking into the parlor.

Second Man: (angrily) I'm fed up with your stories. All you can talk about is the war!

Third Man: He talks as if he were the sole survivor of World War III. *(Somewhat irritated.)* Look, sir, we all know they were difficult times but you weren't the only one who suffered!

Second Man: (to First) You never stopped talking even after the second world war.

Third Man: Let's thank the Lord that at least we three survived this holocaust. Imagine, just three human survivors—out of more than two billion people! We really can't complain. *(He knocks wood.)*

Second Man: I think we ought to discuss how we could best secure world peace in the future. The world cannot be inflamed again!

Third Man: Right you are!

First Man: Incidentally, speaking of flames. *(Pulls a box of matches from his pocket.)* This is all we have left—eight match sticks.

Second Man: (anxiously) Did you make a thorough search?

First Man: Yes, through every major industrial area of the world. We have a cigarette supply to last for 20 million years. Scores of cigarette plants are left intact. But there is not a single match factory left. They were all blown up.

Third Man: Is Madrid still burning?

Second Man: And Ankara?

First Man: Yes, both are still burning.

Second Man: Good, we can use them instead of matches.

Third Man: They won't burn forever! New York burned for only two years. We have to discuss this match problem. It's a long-range question.

Second Man: I can imagine more important things to discuss. How about the question of territorial claims?

First Man: That's right. We'll have to make some arrangements. *(To Third Man)* We appoint you chairman of the conference.

Third Man: I accept the difficult office and will do everything in my power to justify your confidence. The floor is now open for debate.

First Man: (standing up) Gentlemen! World War III devastated the whole world, but we three survived to emerge victoriously from it, vanquishing all the forces of reaction!

Second Man-Third Man: (together) Long live the victorious Allies!

First Man: (continuing) We who were destined to survive this immeasurable cataclysm have a grave responsibility. We must secure peace and tranquillity for mankind! *(Sits down while Second and Third Men applaud vigorously.)*

Third Man: Please come forward with your territorial claims. *(To First Man.)* Which continents do you intend to annex?

First: The Southern hemisphere—Africa, Australia and South America.

Third Man: (to Second Man) And you?

Second Man: Europe and Asia.

Third Man: (irritated) That would leave only North America for me.

First Man: Don't be funny. North America was the world's richest continent, what with the United States on it. There were 174 million people living in North America and now you seem to think that it isn't big enough for you alone.

Second Man: All right, you may have Greenland, too.

Third Man: You can keep such bargains!

Second Man: Please, gentlemen, let's not deepen the crisis. *(To Third Man)* America is great and full of promises. It has two oceans to protect it. I simply must have Europe since that is the strategic approach to Asia. I must safeguard my boundaries.

Third Man: (to First Man) Why don't you give me South America?

First Man: I'm not crazy. Please don't forget the contributions and sacrifices I made to our common victory.

Second Man: Gentlemen! We must not permit this conflict to threaten another war.

Third Man: You can't bully me! Do you think I'm afraid of you because you have the only revolver left in the world?

First Man: Gentlemen, gentlemen, please . . . Here we are, only three of us left. One would think the earth is big enough for three men.

Second Man: If it's big enough for you, why don't you give up Australia?

First Man: Well . . . It isn't *that* big.

Third Man: You see. And yet you expect me to accept just one continent.

Second Man: I want to offer a motion. Since we can evidently reach no agreement on the question of our territorial claims, I move to postpone the decision pending further investigation and study.

First Man: Second the motion.

Third Man: All agreed raise their hands. Motion accepted. I now move to return the question of distribution of matches to the agenda.

Second Man: The match should be the common property of mankind. I suggest that we distribute the matchsticks equally among all three.

First Man: I think that is a preposterous idea. First of all, why should the matches be common property of mankind when I found them? Second, you cannot divide eight by three.

Second Man: What do you propose?

First Man: I propose to give you each two match sticks while retaining four together with the box.

Third Man: You can't get away with such a proposal. I'll veto it!

Second Man: Please, control yourself.

First Man: It's a shame, spending our precious time on fruitless debate instead of starting on the reconstruction of the world.

Third Man: How do you like that? He has the matches and condemns the debate. Give us the matches and we'll start reconstructing, don't worry. *(There is a pause.)*

First Man: Pardon me, gentlemen . . . I move a short recess. *(He goes out. Second Man watches him leave, then starts whispering excitedly into Third Man's ear.)*

Third Man: It's an idea. *(He seizes a club.)* Let's go!

Second Man: Don't you think we ought to send him a firmly worded note first?

Third Man: We can send it afterwards. We cannot sacrifice the element of surprise. *(Exit both. In a moment there are sounds of blows, angry cries, then the death rattle of the First Man. Second and Third Man return.)*

Third Man: I think we deserve mankind's gratitude for routing the common enemy. Okay, now give me four match sticks.

Second Man: Four? Why four?

Third Man: Half of the booty.

Second Man: You have no sense of justice. Whose idea was the whole expedition?

Third Man: Yes, but I delivered the first blow.

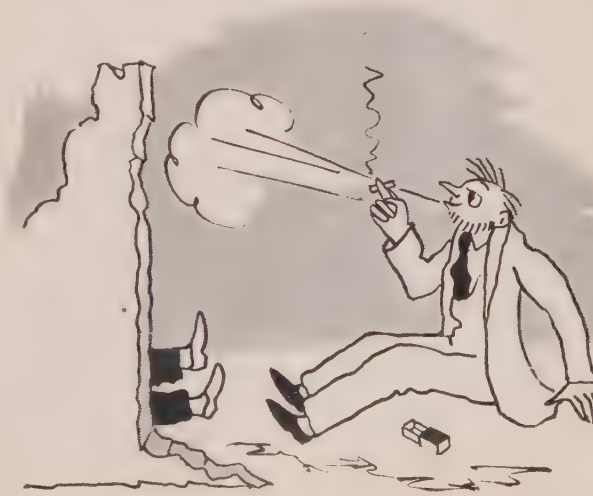
Second Man: That's immaterial. You may have three match sticks if you like.

(Third Man lifts the club in fury. Second Man draws the revolver and fires at him. Third Man collapses. Second Man sits down quietly and lights a cigarette with one of the matches.)

Third Man: (dying) For heaven's sake . . . What have you done!

Second Man: I have finally secured eternal peace for mankind.

Curtain.



"The Battle of PALESTINE"

An estimate of the situation, based on secret military intelligence, reveals that peace in Holy Land may depend on two British "Pashas."

BY LADISLAS FARAGO
Author of *The Riddle of Arabia*

"AN Arab army of 121,000 trained soldiers, partially equipped with heavy weapons and tanks, and supported by 219 military planes now rings Palestine. They are opposed only by the United Nations Charter and about 100,000 Jews, many of them organized in the Haganah under the command of a mysterious, battle-hardened young 'Chief of Staff,' regarded by experts who know him as the outstanding miltary genius of the Middle East."

This is the overall line-up presented to this correspondent by agents of a Near Eastern intelligence service. From the secret reports of these operatives emerges the picture of a possible "Battle of Palestine," now painted in lurid colors by extremist Arab elements.

"But," the intelligence agents emphasize, "the Arabs don't hold the key to the Palestine situation. The question of peace or war in the Middle East depends on two little-known Britons. If these men abide by the decision of the UN and the instructions of His Majesty's Government, and disappear from the scene at the psychological moment, the military structure of Arab resistance will collapse like a house of cards. If they decide to throw themselves into the struggle on the side of the Arabs, there will be war. And if the Jews are left to defend themselves the Arabs will probably beat them."

Known as the "British Pashas" to their innumerable Arab friends, these two men were moulded by the desert that produced Lawrence of Arabia. They are unofficially responsible to Whitehall—but it is a moot question as to how far His Majesty's Government is willing or able to curb their influence. Employed by Arab governments, responsible to Arab rulers, they have deep sympathy for Arab aspirations even, sometimes where they conflict with Britain's interests.

The two men are Brigadier Patrick Andrew Clayton, the spiritual father of the Arab League, and Brigadier John Bagot Glubb, commander-in-chief of the British-controlled, crack Transjordan forces, now deployed at strategic positions throughout Palestine. They represent the rearguard of British agents in the Middle East.

CLAYTON, a ruddy-faced, lean, tall, 51-year-old Irishman, has lived in the Near East ever since he went to Turkey with the Royal Field Artillery early in World War I. When the fighting ended, he remained with the General Staff Intelligence Corps as inspector of Desert Surveys in Egypt. He stayed on the job until 1938—turning out lucid intelligence reports and scholarly monographs on the Western Desert.

"Pat" Clayton gradually worked himself into the confidence of the sheikhs until he became the most influential "Ferenghi" (foreigner) of the region. It is in the desert and not in the effeminate cities of Arabia that the fire of nationalism burns most fiercely. Clayton helped to fan this fire. He kept the tribes in line even while Rommel was rushing toward the Suez.

Clayton's present influence is political. In 1943, he suggested to Anthony Eden, then Britain's Foreign Minister, that an "Arab League" be formed to articulate the political expression of the Arabs in postwar affairs. Eden embraced the idea and the Arab League was born. Clayton breathed life into it until it became a dominant factor in today's crisis. Clayton's zeal is frequently a source of embarrassment to Whitehall.

Even so, Clayton alone would still be insufficient to mobilize the Arabs for military action without the aid of Glubb Pasha.

Brigadier Glubb, just turned 50, is an ascetic figure with a legendary face virtually devoid of a chin. Product of Woolwich Military Academy, he went to the Middle East in 1920. By 1926, Glubb had a commanding influence in Baghdad as Administrative Inspector of Iraqi Government. Four years later he disappeared in the desert, whose "boss" he became in 1932.

TODAY he has three potent military forces under his command; the Arab Legion which has long ceased to be the mere domestic police force of Transjordania; the Transjordan Frontier Force, the best trained and equipped military organization of the Middle East, serving all along the Jordan and deep within Palestine; and the Desert Patrol, an elite guard recruited from the warrior sons of sheikhs, riding on camels or Bren gun carriers with equal ease, the formidable "Glubb Task Force" that could spearhead the drive against the Jews.

The Arabs bank on this force when they make their open military threats, and the Jews concede that this well-organized and well-

Troops of the Transjordan Frontier Force, best trained and equipped Middle Eastern Army could spearhead an Arab drive.

Men of the well-armed and disciplined underground Jewish army, Haganah, have had long experience in repelling attacks.

Heavily armored truck, bearing private license plates, transports Jewish workers in troubled areas, is ready for war use.

Brig. John Bagot Glubb, sitting in foreground in Arab dress, is leader of Jordan armies which may decide Palestine's fate.

Recruit guards headquarters of British-sponsored Jewish settlement police force probably holds membership in Haganah.

led army is the chief menace to their own aspirations. Its strength is estimated at 30,000 men, with at least 40 Britons among its top-ranking officers. Important contingents are motorized and a limited number of British and American-made tanks are available. Since 1936, it was given cooperational training with the Royal Air Force, an experience that would enable it to coordinate its action with squadrons of Iraqi and Egyptian planes. It has 14 wireless stations for the quick transmission of operational commands, and a fleet of trucks and armored troop-carriers.

The outstanding advantage which this force enjoys over its potential Jewish opponent is its combat training. The greatest number of Jews ever known to conduct a joint drill approaching a *bona fide* military maneuver, consisted of 500 officers and men of the *Palmach*, the striking force of the Haganah, which is used for fighting in small groups of five to 150 men.

WHETHER he likes it or not, Glubb's person and his army loom large in all Arab calculations. It also simplifies the military solution of the Palestine problem. All that has to be done, responsible Jewish sources argue, is to disarm and disband the "Transjordan" forces simultaneously with the withdrawal of British troops.

It is taken for granted that no other regular Arab army would be able or willing to assume the role of Glubb's forces. Armies are small and backward in Saudi Arabia and Yemen, and too far removed from the disputed region to be available as a striking force for concentrated military action. The Egyptian army of approximately 30,000 men is in the process of reorganization and development. The 10,000-man army of the Syrians, inherited from the French when they departed is poorly officered. The Lebanese army is small and untrained.

There remain only Iraq's armed forces to be considered as a potential threat to a UN decision. It is well-trained and experienced in guerrilla warfare, with some 25,000 officers and men who have recently been furnished considerable quantities of arms and ammunition by Britain. They are supported by an air force consisting of a reconnaissance and a training squadron of low firepower, with about 150 trained pilots. Due to domestic difficulties the Iraq army cannot be regarded as a potential threat.

If Glubb's army is disbanded, the Mufti of Jerusalem plans to wage tedious guerrilla war in the Judean hills with bands recruited both within and without Palestine, commanded by the Mufti's Iraqi, Syrian and Egyptian henchmen. Not so long ago they helped Hitler in his attempt to establish a new order in the Middle East.

The Haganah is ready to meet the challenge of guerrilla war. Even in 1936-37, I was impressed with the military skill of the young men organized in this force. I watched them withstand and repel haphazard Arab attacks against outlying Jewish settlements, and sometimes fight small pitched battles.

The factors which lend immense strength to the Haganah are its morale, the homogeneity of its forces, and above all, its preparedness in men and weapons. They lack heavy guns, but they have manufactured a mortar so new and effective in design that even the British are anxious to obtain its specifications. They have no tanks in the conventional sense of the word, but they have armor plates concealed in underground arsenals specially designed to fit trucks and tractors, turning them into efficient armored vehicles to be handled by men long trained for the task. There is a sufficiency of rifles, submachine guns, hand grenades, bayonets, and an endless reservoir of ammunition that can be replenished in Jewish Palestine's armament industry.

This industrial base of the Haganah endows it with a strength the Arabs woefully lack. Elaborate preparations were made long ago to gear Palestine's efficient industry to military needs in an emergency. A factory normally producing precision instruments sometimes "shuts down" for a whole week, during which time it turns out compasses for Haganah guides. Another factory is organized to convert to the manufacture of bayonets and light weapons over night.

Stripped of its military strength through a dispersal of Glubb's army and a disinclination of other Arab regulars to participate in a dubious campaign, the Arab League could not redeem its pledge of armed intervention should the UN decide against it. It is well aware of this fact. It is also aware that Glubb and Clayton Pashas would think twice before lending themselves to the adventure, although Clayton was present at the recent conference in Lebanon, where the Arab League decided to defy UN.

In the light of these facts the responsibility for tranquil execution of a UN decision on Palestine, whatever it may turn out to be, still rests with Britain—even after she carries out the withdrawal of her civil servants and military forces from Palestine, now allegedly scheduled for December 1947 or January 1948. Britons, as well as Britain, must abandon the area to its inhabitants, allowing them to settle their differences according to the letter and spirit of the UN Charter, freely, without intimidation.

Young Egyptians training rigorously, may see service in an Arab-Jewish war.

"MA" means HORSE"

A Chinese revision of Mr. Darwin's theory.

BY MA NING

Drawing by Howard Willard

"I saw a man walking upright today, and he smelt appetizing," replied the first, a gleam in his eye.

It was Charles Darwin who wrote that man was descended from more primitive animals by a process of evolution. Perhaps he was right. Perhaps there are animals more primitive than man.

I believe, however, that the theory of evolution needs to be revised. In my opinion, if primitive animals could become men by a process of evolution, man can reverse the procedure.

Take my own person, for instance. It is generally known that Ma Ning is my pen-name and that I depend on my pen for a living.

Long ago—it seems very long ago—I could afford to spend several days or even weeks writing a short story, such as "Dogs of the Hunger Class," for which I would receive a reward of some twelve silver discs embossed with the head of Sun Yat-sen (they were called national silver dollars, but that was long ago). At that time I was in Shanghai, and this small sum was enough for me to defray a whole month's expenses, including my rent and good food. I could also occasionally see three movies a day, stop to stare at jugglers in the streets, look at a flower or a tree and write at least one letter daily to the object of my first love.

I was living like a man, and what I wore, ate and did was much the same as other men.

Today, my pen-name is still Ma Ning and people who knew me in the past sometimes even recognize me as the man who once wrote a short story about dogs. But the Ma Ning of the past and the Ma Ning of today are not the same. A process of evolution has begun.

For instance, it has been a long time since I have eaten meat, seen a movie, stared at a juggler, a flower or a tree, or even thought of writing a love letter. What is more amazing, I can now eat vegetables without a drop of fat in them. I have found myself looking hungrily at all kinds of green plants, and even at the grass, just like an ordinary horse. At such moments I remember that my surname "Ma" literally means "horse" in Chinese, and I speculate about returning my first name back to the dictionary where it belongs.

I am not alone. I glance through my window and see many men and women crawling along the sidewalk opposite my house. Often they thump their heads on the pavement as they beg for alms and as they beg they declare that they are worthless while the passerby from whom they beg and who still walks upright, is a great and worthy person who will gain merit through his charity. Watching all this, I speculate that mankind has already reversed Darwin's theory.

Now I admit that a few such things as this have always existed, but I also hold that it is only today that they have become universal.

The Ma Ning Theory of Evolution, based on such phenomena, anticipates that humankind will follow a definite process downward until they return to the state of their ancient ancestors and become wild animals. Of course, speaking respectfully and scientifically, Kuomintang officials, merchants and metropolitan gangsters who have amassed great fortunes during our most critical times have not yet started on this evolutionary process. They still walk proudly on their two hind legs, live in fine houses covered with carpets with big red roses in them and protected by shiny spittoons in every corner. Some of their houses are even equipped with UNRRA air-conditioning apparatus, their kitchens are stocked with good UNRRA food, and they ride in American cars and airplanes and they have American bank accounts. And now scholars of repute are teaching some of them to read and write.

I admit that such phenomena do violence to the Ma Ning Theory of Evolution, yet I also advance the thesis that such cases are few and that the tendency is the reverse.

In time, Mr. H. G. Wells' successor will have to revise the last chapter of the *Outline of History*, which will read like this:

". . . This was the time when the majority of mankind, in China let us say, reversed the Darwinian theory of evolution and became animals. Their arms became fore legs used for grazing, and their palms, conditioned by contact with the ground, became paws like those of the brown bear.

"But as this process developed and men became animals, it became more and more apparent that all the plants, and even the grass, might be devoured. Folklore has it that one animal was heard to ask another: 'The grass is gone and soon even the roots will be finished. What then shall we live on?'

" 'What do you think?' asked the other. 'I will think as you think and act as you act, for such I was taught to do by my betters when I was a man.'

" 'I saw a man walking upright today. He smelled appetizing,' replied the first, a gleam in his eye.

" 'Is that a dangerous thought?' asked the timid one.

" 'What is dangerous?' asked the other philosophically. 'Look,' he said, 'there comes another in striped pants.'

" 'In that case' . . ."

"Alas!" Mr. Wells' successor will exclaim, "These creatures had entirely forgotten their human origin and had begun to prey on man."

Nationalism

state of the WORLD

behind the headlines

Inside reports and analyses of world events you may not find in your newspapers.

THERE may be something symbolic in the fact that we use he phrase "foreign affairs" less and ess—and speak of "international elations" more and more. There is n amorous undertone of intimate nderstanding implied in the word affairs," while "relations" connote mpassive contact lacking sparkle nd warmth. The flamboyant days re gone when nations still had ffairs. Like the old roué Daumier vas extremely fond of depicting, liplomacy has settled down to its elations.

Even the adjectives which usully go with the sober phrase eflect the current state of the vorld. We speak of "unsettled" or 'strained" or "deteriorating" or 'broken" relations—such discordnt adjectives fitting the expresion as much as the expression fits vorld diplomacy.

Cloud's Eye View

f one day last month a man ould have mounted a stationary loud tied to the earth like a barage balloon high enough to enable im to view international relations hroughout the world, he would ave found much to justify the ontemporary preponderance of egative adjectives.

Coming toward him in a shiny RAF plane he could have seen Earl Mountbatten on a peculiarly lofty nspection trip. So great was the umber of refugees driven to the oads by the strife in India and Pakistan that His Excellency, the ormer Viceroy of India, had to go loft in a plane to review at least a ortion of them. He could have liscovered in another plane, bearng the emblem of the Nanking Government, T. V. Soong winging is way toward Kwangtung. A good ook at that province would have evealed to the man on the cloud vhy a former Premier of China acepted an apparent "demotion" to mere governorship of a province. Anarchy is rampant everywhere in Kwangtung. It will tax Soong's reat skill as an administrator and olitician to restore order to his ew domain.

Viet Nam, to Dominican Republic

The man on the cloud would have seen trouble wherever he turned—in Viet Nam, where a planted rumor of Ho Chi Minh's capture and decapitation unleashed widespread demonstrations; in Cuba where the Army had to step in to prevent an expeditionary force of Dominican revolutionaries from going home to send Trujillo abroad, along the Syrian-Transjordan frontier, growing increasingly restive as ambitious King Abdullah insists on promoting his "Greater Syria" scheme.

Domestic relations appeared in no better shape, especially in South America where revolutions are in season during months containing the letter "R" in their names. Venezuela, Bolivia, Guatemala and Paraguay each had dress rehearsals of the full-scale revolutions which seem to be imminent in several Latin American republics.

The number of exiles throughout the world is always a good index of political unrest. Paris, Buenos Aires, Stockholm and Washington are the favorite resorts of this new crop of refugees whose political shadings range from genuine democracy and pseudo-liberalism to deep reaction. Governments-in-exile are again forming in furnished rooms, around cafeteria tables and in the drawing rooms of Washington matrons who enjoy basking in the reflected glory of a Balkan plot.

Grandeur and Misery

Most of these new exiles learn for the first time the grandeur and misery of their fate — protracted misery usually following in the wake of initial grandeur. One of them is Ferenc Nagy, somber-looking ex-Premier of Hungary.

A political mathematician figured out that even if he had stayed at the head of the Hungarian Government for 25 years he could not have earned as much as he made in the U. S. in just a few months, by accepting his own resignation offered him by phone by his chief opponent, Vice Premier Rákosi. The series of articles Mr. Nagy wrote for the *Saturday Evening Post* and the book he is writing for Macmillan's have placed him in a bracket where he is beginning to complain about the U. S. income tax. (Incidentally, former Under Secretary of State Dean Acheson is writing a foreword to Mr. Nagy's memoirs.)

Last month, exile Nagy and his fellow travelers of the International Peasant Union carried their struggle into the delegates' lounge of the United Nations, trying to enlist support against governments whose accredited representatives sit in on the councils of the international organization. The intellectual leader of the group is Dr. George Dimitroff, a Bulgarian, generally respected as a true liberal. He stays in the background while his Hungarian colleague basks in the limelight. A Croatian cynic remarked of the Union: "Dimitroff is the head, and Nagy is the figurehead."

New Battle of Guadalcanal

While thus the man on the cloud could have seen plenty of trouble dividing men, he failed to see, no matter how hard he tried, signs of the Italian revolution which correspondents on the spot were describing in graphic detail. Hardly visible, too, was a miniature rebellion not far from the spot where the Battle of Guadalcanal was fought in 1942. It wasn't much of an affair. A few star shells fired from a hastily summoned British submarine proved sufficient to nip a revolt "planned to engulf the entire Solomon Islands group," at this point returned to British administration.

The pathetic story of these Solomon Islanders was given a significant footnote in the explanation the London Colonial Office released about their abortive uprising. According to a Whitehall spokesman, food shortages caused by the exhaustion of supplies in abandoned U. S. Army dumps were largely responsible for driving the "natives" into rebellion. He added that unrest was expected all along "under the impact of modern ideas intro-

duced by American forces during the war."

The sun never sets on the troubles of the British Empire.

Decline and Fall

Indeed, it is possible to watch the grim spectacle of a modern empire's "decline and fall" in places which are not political components of the empire itself. Rome probably was the worst place from which to watch the dissolution of the Roman Empire and with all its troubles and worries, London still may not give a proper idea of the rapidity with which the British Empire is disintegrating.

In Argentina, for instance, Ambassador Sir Reginald Leeper is doing what Mountbatten did in India. Leeper is turning over to the Peron Government one British concession after another — railways, banks, insurance companies, mines, factories—holdings once as important to the imperial network as are the colonies of the Crown.

When Sir Reginald went to the Buenos Aires Foreign Office last month to discuss with Chancellor Attillio Bramuglia the final disposal of some British-owned railways, the dapper Argentine Chancellor kept his "British friend" waiting in the ante-room — an insult no British diplomat would have tolerated ten short years ago. But now there was little the Ambassador could do about it. He requested a later appointment.

The role he now plays with grace and tact is a new one for "Rex" Leeper. He once headed the omniscient Political Intelligence Division of the Foreign Office and is recognized as the brainiest of His Majesty's Foreign Servants. During all his diplomatic life Leeper toiled as an empire builder. It must be disconcerting to him now to have to tear down so much of that great empire he had once helped to build.

Peanut Empire

And yet, looking down on Africa, the man on the cloud could have seen feverish activities in certain British possessions on the Dark Continent. Thousands of latter-day empire builders, planters and engineers are busy preparing vast territories in eastern and southern Africa against the day when Britain will have to move the pretentious Victorian furniture of her empire to more modest quarters. "Peanuts!" the man on the cloud might exclaim, and he would not be far wrong. The new empire is indeed being built on a foundation of immense peanut plantations to supply a vast variety of commodities, oils, fats, raw materials for plastics, far in excess of all that George Washington Carver envisaged in his fondest dreams.

Bordering on this new peanut empire is Belgium's uranium empire. It is now guarded against intruders whose cameras bear slavic trade marks. Halfway across the world, a British-made camera almost caused another deterioration in international relations. The camera contained exposed films showing the Jachymov uranium mines in action, an attraction the Czechoslovak Tourist Bureau no longer lists among its scenic beauties to tempt curious travelers.

Uranium is important not only to atomic warfare, but to the war of nerves as well. Hamburg Radio (British controlled) has just announced that considerable uranium deposits have been found at Freithal near Dresden, in Germany's Russian zone. Radio Stettin (Russian controlled) revealed that "an American expedition discovered billions of tons (*sic!*) of uranium-bearing ore in Greenland." It is fairly safe to assume that this newly discovered uranium will never split anything more deadly than the infinitives of propagandists.

Peron Doctrine?

Criss-crossing the wide expanse of oceans, the man on the cloud could have seen silvery warships sailing toward a rendezvous somewhere in the Eastern Mediterranean. Following in the foamy wake of American and British vessels, last month a cruiser of the Argentine navy came to anchor in the Golden Horn. Turks looked up to wonder if there is a "Peron Doctrine" in the making for them.

Silver Lining

Poor man on the cloud! Could he have picked a cloud without a silver lining?

But no. As he strains his eyes to discover a tranquil spot to reassure his troubled mind, he hits upon a place strangely peaceful amidst the clamor. It is a spacious room in a huge five-sided building on the right bank of the Potomac. Behind a desk he sees a man with a broad smile on his face, sorting his papers in opened drawers, throwing some away, filing others, as if emptying them prior to departure.

It is General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower, preparing to leave the Pentagon.

The man on the cloud sits up. Is it possible that amid wholesale charges of "war-mongering" a professional soldier is abandoning his duty of plotting another war?

Military men are usually blamed for making wars, while diplomats get credit for preventing them. Yet in the U.S.S.R., too, the Marshals seem to be least inclined to promote another war. An American publicist, after long private talks with Marshals Zhukov and Konev, insists that both men spoke out against another war in no uncertain terms.

The professional military hatred of war in non-Prussian countries, as opposed to the glib eloquence with which diplomats speak of it, was probably never better demonstrated than by a little incident that occurred some years ago in China. During a minor disagreement between the American and the Chinese governments, the U. S. Minister called in Admiral Bristol, Commander-in-Chief of the U. S. Asiatic Squadron, to tell him:

"I'm sending a last ultimatum, ordering them to comply with our demands or suffer the consequences."

Without saying a word, the Admiral went to the phone, called his Chief of Staff and ordered him to cancel all leaves, mobilize the fleet and send all men to battle stations. The Minister listened to the orders with increasing alarm and finally burst out: "For heaven's sake, Admiral, what on earth are you doing?"

"Merely preparing myself, sir, for [the sufferance of] the consequences."

The Minister understood the hint. The ultimatum was never sent.

U. S. BUSINESS *NEEDS* PEACE

American private enterprise wants expanded world trade, but has no desire or need to enforce its will on any other nation.

By PAUL G. HOFFMAN
President of the Studebaker Corporation

No group in the world has a greater stake in the United Nations and in the principles for which it stands than have American businessmen.

In the past eight years, we have learned—if we did not know it before—that the welfare of the U. S. is irrevocably tied up with the welfare of all the world. We cannot look forward to peace and prosperity ourselves if the rest of the world is impoverished.

Wars and international rivalries can bring feverish bursts of economic activity, a sort of mock prosperity. True prosperity — as measured by the welfare and living standards of all the people—comes only with peace and international cooperation. For this reason, we are convinced that the maintenance of peace and the expansion of international trade offer the only hope of economic growth and higher living standards for everyone.

The U.S. has many things the rest of the world needs. And there are many things that we need from the rest of the world. We are not, perhaps, compelled to import and export to live. But we do have to import and export to live well and to keep up the productive power that our economic system has demonstrated. The Committee for Economic Development summed up this viewpoint in its policy statement on international trade:

"The United States has a major interest in the expansion of world commerce. We are a powerful industrial nation. We need vast quantities of goods and services of many kinds. We have a large margin of efficient, productive capacity which can be put to work making things for international trade. We can exchange these things with the people of other countries who make other things available for trade—other things better or cheaper or different than we can or want to make."

There is one point that I want to make perfectly clear, because there seems to have been a certain amount of misunderstanding about it in some countries. The basic economic organization of the U.S. is a private enterprise system that is best described as dynamic capitalism. Its fundamentals are private ownership, individual initiative, personal liberty, and individual responsibility. We like this system. It has done more for us in the past and will do more in the future than any other system that has ever been devised. *But we have no intention of trying to force it on other countries against their will.*

To quote the CED policy statement again: "All actions by any nation have consequences immediate or remote, important or unimportant, for the security and welfare of every other nation. Nevertheless, each nation should be free to develop its own way of life without interference from other nations so long as its action does not threaten the authority of another nation within its own domain or the ability of the people of another nation to work with the resources that are their own."

We will say frankly that we think large areas of the world would be a great deal better off if they would try to build up a system of dynamic capitalism for themselves. We hope that in time they will begin to do just that. But that is their business.

In 150 years of unparalleled growth and expansion, the U. S. has demonstrated that there is no substitute for the driving power of individual initiative stimulated by generous rewards. Private ownership and private management have built a steel industry that can turn out 65 million tons of finished steel a year, and an automobile industry that can produce 5 million passenger cars and trucks. Altogether U.S. economy now provides jobs for about 60 million workers (twice the number employed in 1900), and the productivity per man is the highest in the world.

Aside from the purely economic benefits, we feel no other system can give the individual as much freedom and dignity as a free enterprise system. It is only under capitalism that a man can set himself up in business when he chooses and get out when he chooses. It is only under capitalism that he can make his own decisions, risk his own money, and reap the profit or stand the loss himself. In any other system, part of the responsibility is passed back to the government. The individual takes orders instead of acting on his own best judgment.

But a free enterprise system cannot just be ordered into effect. The government and the people must believe in it and work for it. They must be jealous of their rights and conscious of their responsibilities.

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U. S. BUSINESS NEEDS PEACE *(continued)*

A nation develops this attitude only by growth and experience. No other nation can force the process from without.

We are not worried by the frequent assertions that capitalism cannot survive side by side with other economic and political systems. The American brand of capitalism is efficient enough and vital enough to hold its own in any fair competition. We are confident that the U. S. can trade with other nations with profit on both sides regardless of what economic systems the other nations have.

There must be a certain number of basic ground rules, of course. Our individual exporters and importers cannot deal on equal terms with a government-subsidized cartel. Nor can American companies make investments abroad if their properties are to be subject to arbitrary expropriation. There must also be fair and workable rules governing international monetary policy so that buyers and sellers can count on prompt payment in the currencies they want.

All these are problems that come within the province of the UN and its subsidiary organizations. If we approach them in the right spirit, there is no reason whatsoever why we should not solve them to the satisfaction of all nations involved.

In addition, there is the whole question of trade barriers—tariffs, quotas, import restrictions of all sorts. On this, American business must be prepared to make concessions as well as ask for them. Excessively high tariffs are bad for us and bad for the world. The United States must now take the lead in its own interest in bringing down the artificial barriers that choke off trade. We must lower our tariffs. And we must let the rest of the world know that we are prepared to buy from them so that they may buy from us.

There is another point that I want to discuss, because it seems to be preying on the minds of a good many people both in the United States and in other countries. That is the fear—or the expectation—that the U. S. will suffer a devastating economic collapse as soon as the postwar boom has worn off. Statesmen of some countries have been reluctant to tie their economies too closely to the U. S. for fear of being dragged down with it in this anticipated depression. And other countries have based their political plans on the assumption that the U. S. would be flat on its economic back within two or three years.

Most of those who prophesy a serious depression point to the past record of the U. S. as evidence. It is true that in the past the great virtue of our dynamic capitalism has been its enormous growth and productivity, but its great fault has been a tendency to make wide cyclical swings from boom to bust.

There are economic theories that teach that such swings are the inev itable result of capitalism. My an swer to these theories is simply tha I don't believe them. All of then are based on doctrinaire assump tions about the nature of our eco nomic system and all of them ig nore the plain facts. None of then takes account of the fact that wit a little more foresight and a littl better management we could hav avoided the worst of the boom-bus cycles of the past.

We will never be able to elim inate all fluctuations in a free econ omy, but there is no reason on eart why we can't limit the amplitude o the swings without diminishing th basic upward trend. With goo management on the part of govern ment, business, agriculture, and la bor, we no longer need to hav swings of as much as 50 percent but can hold them to somethin like 15 or 20 percent, which we ca stand without too much difficult

We already have come a lon way toward working out the poli cies that will enable us to keep ou cycles under control. We have a lo more facts about booms and de pressions now than we ever had be fore. And we have put a lot mor thought on them. We have no reached the point where—if we us what we know intelligently—w can not only level out the peak and valleys of the cycle but ca double the real incomes of most o our people within 25 years. No na tion need fear tying itself to a

economy with that sort of future.

Over the long pull, the greatest single contribution that the United States can make to high levels of trade and employment throughout the world is to develop and to maintain a high level of employment, production, and consumption within its own borders. In serving ourselves by attaining stable prosperity we serve all countries.

And exactly the same thing goes for every other nation in the world. Any area that produces less than its maximum, any country that lets itself slip into chronic unemployment of men or resources, contributes less than its share to the world's well-being. It gives less to other nations and gets less from them. It becomes a poor customer and a poor supplier. The world loses by the drop in production of the particular country and by the depressing effects on other economies.

There is no place in the world today for nineteenth century ideas of exploitation and imperialism. We have learned that good producers are good customers. We know that a man or a nation that does not produce cannot buy. And we know that all are poorer if any part of the world is backward, poverty-stricken, or permanently depressed.

The immediate problem that faces us is to get the war-wracked countries back on their feet and back into production. Until this is done, there can be no stable, balanced trade among nations.

We recognize that the main source of machinery and materials to rehabilitate Europe must be the United States. And we know that until Europe gets back into expanded production, the United States also may have to supply much of the food, clothing, and other necessities that it must have to stay alive and get going. For a time at least, we will have to make arrangements for these exports to continue without being balanced by a corresponding stream of imports.

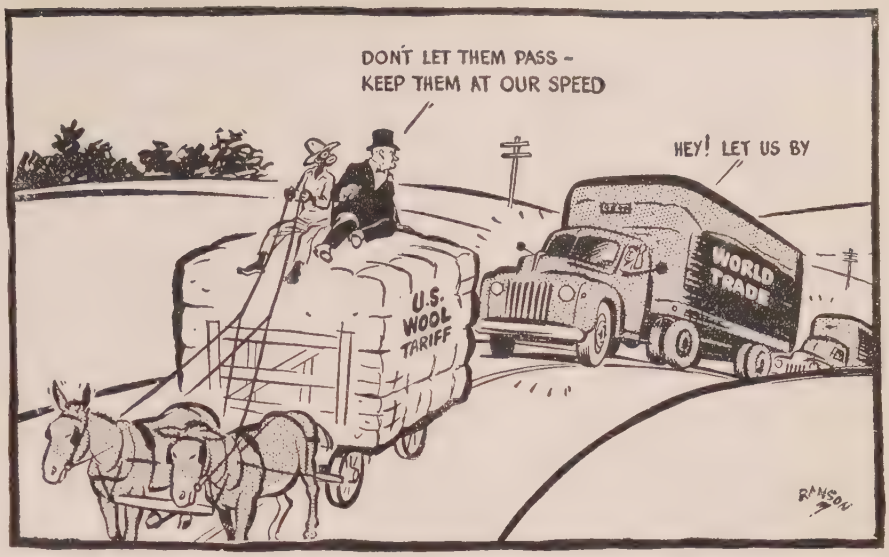
The day to which all of us should look forward is not a time when U. S. exports to the war-torn countries shall drop drastically, but a time when their exports to us (or to the rest of the world) rise to bring our trade into balance. If we can reach that goal, we shall have established a stable system of international trade that will go on giving benefit to all nations.

Trade on that basis would contribute more to world peace than all the treaties and alliances of history. For poverty and depression threaten peace wherever they occur.

It is not true that all wars have economic causes. But it is true that economic depression and want make it easy for a country to start upon the road to war. If we can insure a stable and prosperous world for ourselves and our children we will have gone a long way toward banishing war forever.

And in that too, no group has a greater stake than American businessmen. For every businessman is also a private citizen, and like the rank and file of citizens everywhere, he wants above everything else peace among the nations.

Blocking Prosperity



Free Press, Winnipeg, Canada

. . . . . is often undone by selfish interests

U. S. IMPORTS & EXPORTS FOR THE FIRST SEVEN MONTHS OF 1947

(In millions of dollars)

	Exp.	Imp.
WORLD	8,704	3,313
NORTH AMERICA	2,225	1,246
Canada	1,206	597
Mexico	376	149
Cuba	278	315
Central America	167	82
SOUTH AMERICA	1,407	685
Brazil	405	236
Argentina	367	100
Venezuela	250	98
Colombia	136	113
Chile	77	66
EUROPE	3,223	454
United Kingdom	715	120
France	525	30
Italy	314	24
Belgium	281	31
Sweden	257	45
Netherlands	219	13
Switzerland	108	49
USSR	107	42
ASIA	1,194	652
China	275	78
India	260	154
Philippine Republic	251	94
OCEANIA	175	114
Australia	130	90
AFRICA	479	158
Union of South Africa	245	43

ARANHA of Brazil

President of the General Assembly of the United Nation

BY HERNANE TAVARES DE SÁ

Author of *The Brazilians—People of Tomorrow*

"PEACE," said Oswaldo Aranha on the day he was elected to the highest international office in the world, "is not only necessary, but possible."

No remark could have more aptly demonstrated the mixture of optimism, realism and humor that motivates the new president of the General Assembly.

We were lunching at the gay, polyglot United Nations restaurant at Flushing Meadow where Aranha's steady flow of conversation, now bubbling and witty, now keen and earnest, was holding his table companions as spellbound as he has, on occasion, held international audiences. Curiously enough, he was talking about how well other people spoke.

"There was a delegate from India, for instance, who spoke so fascinatingly that I could have gone on listening to him indefinitely, but as chairman I have to keep the speeches short . . . Too bad. . . ." Then he struck a sombre note, "But I must always be alert for demagogues . . . international demagogues are the worst of all, the most dangerous."

At this point, the food was set down on the table and Aranha interrupted himself to regard it with a look of black dismay. There is absolutely nothing international about the food served at United Nations Headquarters. It is 100 per cent American—which to most Latins means, well-balanced, healthful and tasteless. Muttering a few words of mild protest and darting a quick glance at our plates to see that we were no better served, he began to eat resignedly.

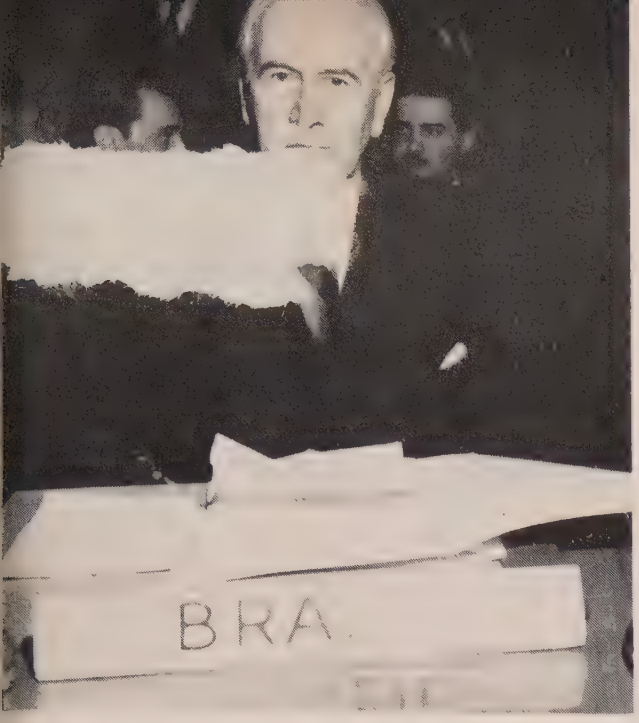
Oswaldo Aranha has definitely emerged as the "man of 1947" in the activities of the United Nations. And 1947 may well be the year that will decide whether the United Nations is going to live on. In rapid succession this year, he has found himself chairman of the Security Council, president of the special meeting on Palestine, and now of the regular session of the General Assembly itself.

"He has that rare gift," remarked one of the members of his Brazilian delegation, "for superlatively conducting an international gathering." People with such a rarefied specialty operate in a discouragingly limit market, involving long periods of unemploymer Aranha, however, is the exception; in fact, he seer to be well on his way to cornering this tight market.

Certainly his unexpected re-election on Septemb 16 to the presidency of the UN Assembly indicat that recognition of his talents overruled the delegat natural reluctance to allow any one nation a semblan of monopoly in this highest office in the gathering nations. As a matter of fact, when the assembly co vened for its momentous meeting in September, it w widely expected the chairmanship would go to D Herbert Evatt of Australia. Aranha himself told t *New York Herald Tribune* that the Brazilian gover ment felt such an honor as the chairmanship shou not be bestowed twice on the same country and th he neither wanted nor expected re-election. On t basis of this Brazilian attitude, the United States del gation pledged its support to Evatt although Aranl has always been enormously popular among dipl matic circles of this country.

But neither Aranha nor the great powers had rec oned with the twenty Latin American republics wl are determined to exert a powerful influence in wor politics. Meeting in secret session shortly after t close of the Inter-American Conference in Rio la September, they agreed to cast their votes as a bl for the Brazilian whether he willed it or not. When became evident at the Assembly that neither J Masaryk of Czechoslovakia, candidate of the Sovi bloc, nor Evatt, champion of the Western powe would receive a clear majority, a sufficient number neutral nations switched their votes to Aranha insure his election.

Aranha was entirely sincere in his desire not to r as a candidate, but he would have been less th human not to have been thoroughly delighted at t outcome. Even the nations who had voted again him conceded that he was the best choice. Not on was the U. S. Delegation secretly delighted but ev



Andrei Gromyko is reported to have said, "He is anti-Russian, but he is also objective and impartial when presiding."

Patriarch of the Family Gathering

Aranha is an inspiring and decorative figure on the Assembly rostrum. He looks like a benign silver-haired patriarch presiding over a family gathering. For example, at the afternoon session on September 23, a roll call vote was demanded as to whether to include Greece, Korea, and the Italian peace treaty on the agenda. Aranha patiently explained from the rostrum that those who wanted to include the item should vote "yes," those who did not should vote "no," and those who did not wish to vote should say "abstain." Then he added, "Is that plain to all of you school children?"

Presiding over the Assembly of the United Nations is a gruelling, exhausting job. The chairman is confronted with a babel of languages, for debates may be conducted in English, French, Spanish, Russian or Chinese. Aranha knows three of those languages, and only when a speech is made in Russian or Chinese does he put on his earphones. He dismissed the problem of switching from language to language: "What is really exhausting," he says, "is the unending procession of the most diverse mental backgrounds, dialectical methods, legal traditions. It is not their language, but the way they think that differs so much."

He never lets debates drag, always spurring the delegates on, forcing them back to the point and cutting down their exuberant orations. He is aware of the fact that each day of full dress debate in this Assembly costs the taxpayers of the world $100,000 and that by keeping the debates moving and the speeches short, he may cut the length of the annual session.

But he can also be flexible in interpretation of the rules on occasion if it implies in him a generous gesture. At the meeting that took up the question of including the Italian treaty in the agenda, Aranha allowed the boyish-looking Ethiopian delegate to narrate, movingly, the rape of his country by Fascist Italy, observing: "The Chair has allowed the representative of Ethiopia to diverge from the subject as a tribute to the suffering of that noble people. But it must be understood that only the agenda is under discussion."

Charm in the Corridors

But much of the work and most of the compromises at the UN do not occur during the solemn public sessions, but in the lounges and caucus rooms, or in whispered conversations in the corridors—just as in any old-fashioned parliament. Here Aranha displays another set of talents even more indispensable. Where he is majestic and distant in the Chair, in the corridors he now becomes intimate and convincing. Where he was serious and terse, he is now chatty and genial. The famous Aranha charm is at work. There is a relaxed, almost dreamlike air about him, an effortlessness which seems to indicate that his one preoccupation is to be courteous and pleasant. But never be deceived by his apparent vagueness. He is constantly on the watch, misses nothing, takes in the most casual remark, is sensitive to the slightest change of mood.

The Aranha suavity and graciousness stem from breeding and an environment of affluence. He was born 53 years ago in the small town of Alegrete in Sao Paulo in southern Brazil. His old and eminent family numbers among its ancestors two marquis, a viscount and assorted barons. More important, perhaps, is that in the family line there were also *bandeirantes*, lowly-born but rugged, fighting 17th century pioneers, who swept west from Sao Paulo to annex two million square miles to the country's territory.

He grew lean and tough on his father's cattle ranch as a boy, then went for his secondary education to the Military School in Rio de Janeiro, most of whose graduates go on to the nation's Military Academy. "They say that I have no friends in the Army," says Aranha, "but they forget that I grew up with most of the present-day generals." He himself chose to go to law school in Rio de Janeiro and to the Sorbonne in Paris. He returned to practice law in his native state.

During the 20's, a period of turbulence which preceded Vargas' seizure of power in 1930, Aranha took a militant part in several uprisings, picked up two bullets in his body, had part of his right heel shot away and his legs nicked by machine gun bullets. In the small southern town of Itaqui, he was besieged by Luiz Carlos Prestes, Brazil's famous Communist leader, who was beginning the epic 16,000-mile march of the Prestes Column. He spent so much time in bed convalescing from bullet wounds during those troubled years that he used to remark, "my career was made in bed," since the period of enforced inactivity gave him time to meditate, study and reach important decisions.

In the 1930 presidential elections Julio Prestes (no relative to the Communist leader), representing the coffee barons of Sao Paulo, was elected. Getulio Vargas, the defeated candidate, refused to accept the decision. Having secured support of part of the Army and of two state governments, he launched a revolt. Broadcast signal for the rising was the two words, "Oswaldo Aranha." The revolution won three weeks

later when the garrison of Rio de Janeiro deserted the government. As the revolutionary troops entered the capital, hysterical crowds carried Aranha six blocks on their shoulders, begged for a speech which he was too choked with emotion to give.

After heading the Ministries of Justice and Finance under Vargas, Aranha was appointed Ambassador to Washington in 1934. He arrived knowing only two words of English, "Washington" and "wonderful." A month later he had learned enough to make a passable radio speech. He soon became one of the most popular figures in the diplomatic world. To a bejewelled Washington hostess who proclaimed a highly unlikely interest in Brazilian economics, he answered gallantly: "Brazil produces only orchids and diamonds for ladies as lovely as you."

His friendship for Franklin Roosevelt and his obvious admiration for the United States made his appointment as Minister of Foreign Affairs in March 1938 one of the few hopeful signs in the gloomy atmosphere of increasing Axis influence in South America. During the next crucial years Aranha's influence was decisive in preventing Vargas and some of the pro-fascist military from leaning toward the Axis.

Aranha looked uncomfortable when, as Ambassador to the U.S. in 1935, he escorted visiting naval officers to the White House.

As Foreign Minister from 1938 to 1944, Aranha was instrumental in keeping Brazil and the other western hemisphere nations pro-ally.

Today, despite his strenuous duties as President of the UN General Assembly, Aranha still finds time to indulge gourmet tastes.

At the conference of American Foreign Minister 1942 at Rio de Janeiro he rallied the Latin Ameri republics around a sorely-pressed United States. Su ner Welles, then Undersecretary of State, told ne men on three occasions that Aranha was proving h self a "tower of strength." To that end he compo differences between Ecuador and Peru, came to ter with Argentine Foreign Minister Guiñazú (althou he could not persuade Argentina to break relati with the Axis) and generally did the dirty work of conference—without ever losing his customary When Guiñazú's plane crashed into the sea a f moments after taking off, and the Argentinian and party were miraculously fished out by Navy cad Aranha remarked, "Of course that plane was ov loaded, what with Guiñazú's heavy conscience. . .

In August, 1942, mass demonstrations and ne riots in favor of the democracies, forced the Brazil government into the war on the side of the All at a time when their fortunes were at their lowest e

When it became apparent that the Allies wo win the war, Getulio Vargas was faced with the pr pect of becoming one of the few surviving dictators the world. Placing his reliance on the military to ke him in power, he decided to scrap pro-democratic e ments in his cabinet. In August 1944, he forc Aranha's resignation—even though Vargas knew was forsaking the U.S. blessing.

From Defeat to the Security Council

Fourteen months later Vargas himself was ousted the Army. Aranha came out of retirement to ca paign enthusiastically for Air Brig. Eduardo Gom a liberal and democrat of the Jeffersonian stripe. Wh Gomes was defeated by Dutra, Aranha returned his law practice. In February, 1947, Aranha came the United States on a 20-day visit, under priva auspices, to participate in a forum on internatio relations in Cleveland. While he was there, t Brazilian delegate to the Security Council, Pe Velloso, died. President Dutra wired an appeal th he accept the vacant position.

Brazil's turn at the rotating chairmanship of t Security Council was due the following month a Aranha had an immediate chance to exercise superlative gift, although he knew very little ab the workings of the UN. He would preside at te pestuous sessions with debonair firmness, then wo rush home and stay up until three and four in t morning perusing documents, dissecting the Chart acquiring a background in the new international ganization. When his chairmanship ended he went bed with a severe attack of pneumonia. But he h made such an impression that when the special sess of the General Assembly to study the Palestine qu tion was convened in April, 1947, Aranha was elec president of the General Assembly.

Oswaldo Aranha is a man whose predilections living life fully and intensely probably explain w he never sleeps more than four or five hours a nig and even that most grudgingly. He believes that ei hours of sleep is an acquired habit of our effete ci lization. His boyhood on the pampas of Brazil's sou ernmost state of Rio Grande do Sul gave him athletic physique which makes possible the gruell pace he sets himself. A first class horseman, when

is in Brazil he spends as much time as possible on his stud farm near Rio, where he changes into *bombachas,* the attire of the Brazilian gaucho, and sets out on horseback. In late years, he has also acquired a string of racehorses. Every morning at six, he is at the training track, chronometer in hand, clocking his thoroughbreds. His interest in racing is so keen that it resulted inadvertently in one of his rare lapses from modesty. One Saturday in Rio he had made a brilliant and important speech. On Sunday he attended the races as usual. As he walked into the Foreign Ministry Monday morning, one of his aides rushed up and said, "Congratulations, your Excellency. It was magnificent!"

"Yes, wasn't it," retorted Aranha, his face shining with excitement. "I knew all the time that trainer didn't know what he was talking about and that my horse would win!" While in the U. S. last spring, he found time to go to the Kentucky Derby, where he won $4,200 on Bold Venture.

A U. S. diplomat once told me how riding in Aranha's car on one occasion, he was surprised at the utter familiarity with which the chauffeur carried on an animated discussion with the Foreign Minister about the previous Sunday's races. He observed that even in the democratic U. S. it was not customary for cabinet members to argue with their chauffeurs in heavy traffic. "In the field of sport, there are no social superiors," remarked Aranha.

This informality has made Aranha beloved by the humblest of those who have come in contact with him. The day he left the Palace of Itamaraty, seat of Brazil's Foreign Office, many of the typists and doormen came to say goodbye with tears in their eyes. It is not so much that Aranha has the common touch and a pervading interest in the masses, but rather that he is interested in people be they humble or exalted and that he normally does not know how to be ungracious or discourteous.

But it is in his family relationships that the warmth and sentimentality of Aranha find full play. Born into a family of 17, he continues with his own four children, two sons and two daughters, the patriarchical family life so typical of old Brazil, now crumbling under the pressure of modern life. The Aranha household in Rio is still run along traditional lines. Food is set out for both expected and unexpected guests. His wife never knows how many people will be at the table.

No little wonder that Aranha, who was born rich and who has made and lost several fortunes during his lifetime considers his present salary at $2,000 a month (when Ambassador to Washington his salary was $50,000 a year) somewhat less than adequate for his way of living. He once had to forego a trip to Princeton to receive an honorary degree because, as he said, "I was broke again and had to hurry back to Brazil to earn a little money."

It is not only financial reasons that will bring Aranha back to Brazil this time. He badly misses his children, especially his enthusiastic, politically-minded 24-year-old daughter, Zazi. She looks after him with such devotion that he is constantly evading irksome chores with the comment, "Zazi will take care of it." For his mother, who runs the clan with an iron hand, he has such affectionate concern that he once promised to stop smoking if she would stop eating sweets, (she suffered from diabetes). He kept the pledge for five years. An inveterate smoker, he started again toward the end of the war as he listened to broadcasts of German attacks in the sector where his son, a private in the Brazilian Expeditionary Force, was fighting.

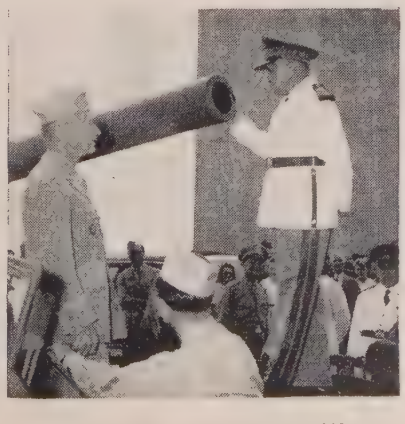
Next President of Brazil?

Aranha's chance of becoming Brazil's next President —of which there is a distinct possibility—will depend on how the voters feel about his attitude toward the U. S. His supporters feel he has given Brazil its rightful place in the American family of nations. His enemies charge he has made the country intolerably subservient, politically and economically to the big neighbor.

At the moment, however, Aranha's great opportunity lies in the broad international sphere. At this critical juncture in UN's history what, many people ask, can Oswaldo Aranha do to preserve and make effective the international organization?

An encouraging answer may be found in the fact that this man—epicure and statesman, horsetrader and crusader, flamboyant yet subtle—is a genuine representative of "the spirit of Itamaraty," which has come to mean the unbroken coherent line of the country's foreign policy.

In Aranha's own words it means, "a political genius characterized by a Brazilian capacity to compromise on everything but the basic principles of human dignity and freedom. What I represent here at the United Nations is this political sense, based on international law, which believes firmly that every international quarrel can be solved through arbitration, tolerance and patience."



Left: Getulio Vargas, dictator of Brazil from 1930 to 1945, received Aranha's support until they split forces in 1945.

Brazilian President Dutra, inspecting military installations, appointed Aranha to UN despite their political rivalry.

BOOM *on the World's A*

BY SIR WILLIAM PERCIVAL HILDRED
Director General
International Air Transport Association

63 international airlines from 40 countries, cooperating to promote safer, better, round-the-world air service, now carry great cargoes of goods and ideas.

It is unfortunate that now, as ever, the noise of great discord at one level of human interest drowns the sweeter sounds of harmony at other levels. Everyone knows, for instance, what Mr. Vishinsky thinks of Mr. Dulles, but there are no headlines for Russian admiration of American production techniques, or Shostakovitch as a concert favorite of Americans.

Similarly the world hears seldom of those vital activities which are daily being carried on in an atmosphere of healthy international understanding and cooperation. There are many such, but my own field of air transport provides perhaps the best example.

Just a few weeks ago the International Air Transport Association, which is the cooperative organization of the international airlines—some 63 of them, from some 40 countries—held its Third General Meeting. When IATA was formed, in April of 1945, many of the airlines for whom the founders signed and many who have since become members had not even begun operations. The groundwork of the association was laid while the war was still on. One great airline, for instance, was composed of an office under close Nazi surveillance in an occupied city and a completely disassociated short line from Miami to Curacao. Another was simply an idea in the heads of exiled airmen flying a transport wing for the Royal Air Force.

In little more than two years the international route pattern—before the war a disjointed network 150,000 miles long—has been extended to 500,000 miles, serves 200 countries, territories, colonies or islands. Europe is caught in a tight web of routes, over which the night mail and freight planes now run the year round. Twenty-five services a day shuttle across the North Atlantic. If you would go to Prague, for instance, 10 airlines will get you there from points as far distant as New York, Oslo, Cairo or Karachi. And there are 13 services a week to Bangkok.

During 1946, the airlines of the world completed nine billion passenger miles of service. This year, their record will be even higher. During the summer, the number of air passengers across the Atlantic has run as high as 6,000 a week. Air transport is still subject to seasonal variations, but frequently the passengers are limited only by capacity.

At the same time, the international airplane has emerged from the war for the first time as the carrier of loads in bulk. On some routes cargo accounts for more payload than passengers. A number of lines are now regularly operating all-cargo schedules. And with new planes and experimental rates, the airlines are preparing to carry ever greater cargoes of goods and ideas between nations.

The latest bulk commodity to be carried by air, incidentally, is immigration. Thousands have been transported this year from Europe to a new life in Canada,

UNITED NATIONS WORLD Map by James Cutter

and far more air-immigrants are scheduled to go next year.

The airlines which have done all this, fly, as I have said, the flags of very many nations. The airline fleet in international service now totals over 2,000 aircraft, some of them small and some huge, multi-engined two-deckers. They employ directly almost half a million people and indirectly provide work for millions more. They have an annual turnover of more than a billion dollars a year, earned and spent at thousands of airports throughout the world.

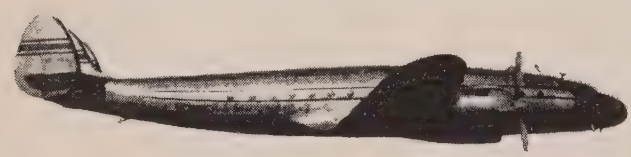
The airlines would be the first to admit that this is only an interim service they now render, but the fact that they have been able to do so much in so relatively short a time is a magnificent example of human resilience and determination. Yet international cooperation—between governments and airlines—has been equally necessary to international air transport because governments control the air above their territories as well as the ground facilities beneath. Just as an airline sends out its own survey planes to check every detail of operation all along a round-the-world route, its government must send out diplomatic survey parties, so to speak, to obtain all the necessary clearances and permits from other governments along the way. In the course of obtaining those clearances, there must be many adjustments of law and regulation, so

that the pilots of one country will be accredited by others, so that national conceptions of air-worthiness will be the same and standards of safety equally high everywhere.

Before the war, governments more often than not did their clearing of routes piecemeal. With eminent foresight, however, the allied nations met at Chicago in the winter of 1944-45 while the war was still in progress, and proceeded to build a scaffolding of multilateral agreement. It was not and is not yet complete, but it has been sufficient to get things going.

A MAJOR achievement of Chicago has been the International Civil Aviation Organization which six months ago emerged from its provisional status. On behalf of governments, ICAO has done the difficult job of bringing into a degree of consonance the rules, regulations and facilities of many countries, and helping provide them in territories which cannot afford them.

ICAO has not, by any means, finished its job. No agency concerned with aviation can ever rest. And ICAO has a limitation in that its decisions are not directly enforceable: they take the form, rather, of recommendations for standards and practices which only individual member governments can make effective.



Nevertheless, the extent of agreement on technical matters reached during the past 18 months is probably unparallelled in any other field of activity. Governments have, as well, devoted themselves to the building of the infrastructure of the new air transport —the airports, and all they contain, the meteorological and communications services, the airways and the like. In the one instance of instrument landing systems, for example, 100 of these aids are already installed at major airports in the United States, the European network should be completed in 1948 and progress is being made in Canada and South America.

The Chicago Conference did not have the same immediate success in the field of economic agreement as it did in its technical phases. The air transport of many countries has not yet reached financial self-sufficiency.

This anxiety, among others, has so far stood in the way of universal approval of a multilateral agreement on the so-called Fifth Freedom traffic—the right of anybody's airline to pick up business in anybody's territory, so long as it does not enter into domestic carriage outside its own country. But other and more limited agreements, drafted according to patterns laid down at Chicago, have made possible most of the operations desired by the airlines and their governments.

The economic conflict epitomized by differences between America and Britain was resolved at the working level by the Bermuda Agreement of 1946.

So far, I have said little about what the airlines have done themselves in the way of international cooperation. The IATA Conferences are actually a good point at which to begin that story, for they are the point at which the benefits of that cooperation are finally passed on to the world public. The rate policy adopted by the Conferences is that charges for an airline service should be based, not on what the traffic will bear, but on what it costs to provide an efficient service.

IATA's interests are wide and its functions many, but they all boil down to a campaign to make air transport safer, faster, more efficient and more accessible to more people by standardization, unification and simplification of all types of procedures, practices and equipment. Each economy achieved by this process is reflected in the cost analyses made by the Conferences and by the same token, in final rate recommendations.

Into IATA's work in the technical, traffic, legal and financial fields, the airlines have put a most respectable investment. They spend $600,000 a year on IATA directly and contribute millions of dollars' worth of the time of their best men to its committees and conferences. IATA is basically a world bank of aeronautical knowledge and experience, into which each airline deposits its own know how and from which it can draw, without stint, on the expert knowledge of others. It is the agency whereby the airlines are able to resolve jointly those problems which they cannot surmount alone. Another basic principle is close and cordial cooperation with ICAO.

There are many problems in world air transport yet to be solved, little ones like agreement on temperature accountability ratings at international airports and big ones like conflicts of taxation. We are still battling like fiends against an intolerable maze of customs and immigration red tape which can, if unchecked, literally slow air transport down to a walk.

THERE is also a gap in the world pattern of agreement, for the Soviet Union has not yet joined ICAO. Nor has its air transport enterprise, Aeroflot, joined IATA. We assume, however, that this neglect is due to reasons which are good and sufficient to the Soviet government and it is my own conviction that sooner or later Russia's interest in international air transport will be more active. In the meanwhile, the latchstrings of both organizations are out—as a matter of fact, ICAO kept open for a year a seat on her Council for the U.S.S.R.—and I can say for IATA that Soviet observers are welcome at our meetings at any time.

The good record of international cooperation achieved in aviation is not very different from that in other fields such as meteorology and telecommunications. I do not think the men and women concerned with these enterprises have any special talent for amiability or any black magic that will cause the lion and the lamb to lie down together for anything but a lamb dinner. They can, however, be credited with a fund of common sense large enough to realize first that there is no virtue for a single country in putting up with obstacles that the common action of all countries can reduce, and second, that no government ever lost sovereignty or power by cooperating with others in making life more comfortable and safer for its citizens.

NO REVOLUTION IN ITALY

Italian Leaders are firm in the belief that there will be no civil war, and that Italy will have to steer the center road, being flanked on both sides by giants.

BY LOUIS DOLIVET

International Editor, UNITED NATIONS WORLD

ROME (By Cable):

Italy is laboring under no illusions—it knows it is the buffer between the two major forces that divide the world. Rome's inhabitants say, "We are 12 miles from the American border—the sea, and 770 miles from the Russian border—Yugoslavia."

Since my arrival, I have talked to the leaders of almost every important political party and shade of political belief in Italy: Count Carlo Sforza, veteran statesman and Foreign Minister; Giovanni Gronchi, leader of the Christian Democratic Party; Randolfo Pacciardi, head of the Republican Party: Guiseppe Saragat, leader of the anti-Communist right wing Socialists; Antonio Giolitti, Communist Party international affairs expert and former Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs. I asked each of them if there were imminent danger of civil war. The answer in every case was an unequivocal "No!" To a man, they attributed it to sensationalism of foreign correspondents, particularly American.

Political leaders of all other parties, while fully cognizant of the ultimate aims of international Communism, do not believe that the Italian Communist Party is in any position to instigate a *coup d'etat*.

"We Communists," said the 27-year old Giolitti, nephew of one of Italy's great statesmen, "are Italians first, and Communists next. The Italian Communist Party aims at a purely parliamentary struggle to achieve a large coalition of the major political parties."

He expresses the friendship and gratitude that all Italians, including the Communists, feel toward the U. S. for its vital help in the war, but he regrets the present American foreign policy.

To the man in the street, civil war is equally unthinkable. Civil war with what, he asks? With bundles of inflated *lire* or with the small arms left behind by the Allies? Civil war with whom? With men and women who are weary to death of war? Only a new world conflict could bring civil war to Italy. The prevention of such a war represents the principal domestic and foreign policy of Italians of every shade of opinion.

Italy is the political thermometer of the world. When international political tension increases, the people's mood inevitably falls and drags down with it the already disastrously low *lira*. No country in Europe has determined so completely as Italy that its life or death, existence or non-existence depends upon the relations between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

On the famous site of the Springs of Caracalla to which Romans flocked all summer to hear *Carmen*, under the columns of the Bernini, along the Tiber, above the mausoleum of Hadrian, people refer to war as the beginning or end of their existence.

Roman workers protest slaying of eight Sicilian laborers

Stadium Domitian held 20,000 at Communist-sponsored rally

Italian Political Leaders: (L. to R.) Togliatti, Communist; Nenni, Socialist; Saragat, Right Wing Socialist; Pacci

NO REVOLUTION IN ITALY *(continued)*

Yet despite the misery of the thousands of children who roam the streets looking for cigarette butts, the beggars with dead eyes and haggard faces staring at the five or six figure price tags in the windows, Rome is confident of the future if peace is maintained.

PRICES in Italy are 50 times what they were before the war. The monthly salary of a manual laborer varies from 8,000 *lire* to 20,000 *lire*. One kilogram of meat costs 1500; a suit over 20,000; shoes, 6,000; a shirt, 1500 to 3,000; a litre of milk costs more than 100. Yet Italy is inexpensive to the foreign visitor. Official rate of exchange is 480; the black market rate 670 lire to the dollar.

By a curious weakness in Italian monetary control, the visitor is permitted to exchange traveler's checks for cash dollars at the black market rate. The cost of a room and three meals in an excellent *pension de famille* is 2500 *lire* ($5.50 official rate, $3.50 black market). An excellent custom-made suit costs $40, and American cigarettes are sold at 400 *lire* a pack.

One wonders how the Italians live but, as Count Sforza told me, "Poverty has always been the companion of Italians." They find ways and means of repairing cars that would be rusting on junk piles anywhere else in the world; they daub gay colors on houses which elsewhere would be abandoned shacks. Thus Italy is living through a disastrous inflationary period.

But what about next winter? The absence of the most elemental food supplies and coal threatens the life of the nation. If the Northern industries are obliged to close, 1,000,000 workers will be thrown out of jobs. Civil war then could become a serious danger. But Italy is banking on U. S. help immediately. Ambassador James Dunn's hopeful hints to this effect are blessed by all Italians.

To meet the crises both internal and from abroad, the de Gasperi Government will soon broaden its base to include Pacciardi Republicans, Saragat's right-wing Socialists and, if possible, Nenni's left-wing Socialists, or at least some of them. This reorganization will also free the government of the necessity of accepting the support of *L'Uomo Qualunque* (Common Man), extreme right-wing party. The writer was present at a dramatic discussion of the Constituent Assembly in beautiful Monticeiro Palace where de Gasperi maneuvered brilliantly in order to obtain the vote of confidence necessary to effect such a reorganization. In few parliaments of the world have I ever witnessed so much oratorical talent and such obedience to the rules of parliamentary procedure.

WHEN the session was over, I had a long discussion with Sforza, the first of several with top political leaders. Sforza is one of the greatest of living Italians, whose voice during his long exile warned France, England, Russia and the U. S. against Mussolini for almost 20 years. He is now at the helm of Italian foreign policy.

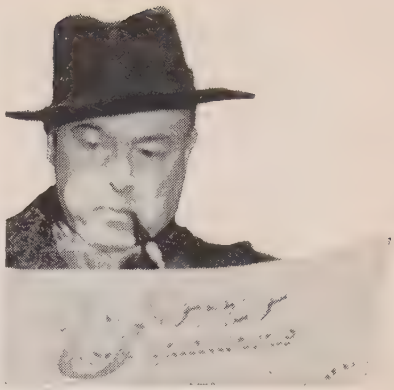
As we sat in the beautiful surroundings of his villa, Count Sforza was silent for a few minutes. Then he asked for news of New York, the places in which he had lived and the restaurants where d the war we used to discuss i national developments. He a about the universities at whic had taught—Columbia and B ley, whether the students were ficiently informed about the situation in Europe. Finally ing back to the present situa he became the old Sforza, mil defender of international coo tion. To him, the UN was the hope of the world, even thoug remarked with bitterness, Italy not been admitted.

"There is no sacrifice," he "which any people has the r right to refuse in order to stre en the United Nations."

Giovanni Gronchi, leader o Christian Democratic Party, i next man I interviewed, in great office lined with Go tapestries. In his middle fo gray-haired with sharp clear he talks with a precision one ally doesn't associate with Ita He believes that ideological victions alone could not g political activities.

"In a parliamentary regime ours, where there are too r tendencies represented, a s political party like the Chri Democrat is obliged to abid the rules of realism. Even the munist Party while officially posed to our basic concept democracy, nevertheless is obliged to work with the parties of Italy.

"It is not true," Gronchi a "that we Italian democrats always be voting with the We bloc. Our position must be t to convince Russia that there center in Europe which is t to cooperate with both sides larger political plane."



Republican; Sforza, Independent Republican; de Gasperi and Gronchi, Christian Democrats; Giannini, Qualunquista.

Gronchi hopes that there will be an international organization of Christian parties in France, Belgium, Holland and elsewhere which would agree to a common platform on essential matters of international policy.

Guiseppe Saragat, leader of the anti-Communist Socialists is an exceptionally brilliant political strategist. He has few illusions regarding the future. In his view, there is no such thing as a "Western bloc." There is simply the U. S. which has no real policy of coalition and alliance with the Western European countries. The only bloc that really exists is the Eastern bloc, composed of Russia and its satellites.

"The Socialists have the duty in Europe of creating the most unfavorable possible conditions for war," says Saragat. "That is to say, their policy must be to convince both the U. S. and U. S. S. R. that it is not in their interests to favor a new world conflagration. The maintenance of peace is the essential role of European Socialism."

Antonio Giolitti, to whom we referred before, is one of the many young men who have come into great political prominence in the Italian Communist Party. At the age of 27 he was Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs. Despite the verbal violence of the Italian Constituent Assembly and the fights between the Christian Democrats and the Communists, Giolitti is a frequent visitor to the Foreign Office.

The most truly independent and liberal member of the Italian parliament is Randolfo Pacciardi, leader of the Republican Party. After years of fighting and exile in France, Spain and the U.S. he came to the conclusion that the two systems of the East and West can coexist, and that Western Europe's only safeguard for peace is to form a democratic, socially progressive, economically planned center.

All these men know that the price Italy must pay for 20 years of Fascism and war is five to ten years of serious scarcity. In the international field they hope and pray for early admission to the United Nations—not that they believe too much in its effectiveness (being by and large a skeptical people) but because membership in the UN would wipe out the remnants of the shameful Fascism spirit.

If Italy should be admitted to the UN, it could be counted upon to cooperate with the U. S. But its principal efforts will be directed toward maintaining a center position because Italy knows it is the immediate neighbor of two giants. Its borders are undefended. It has no navy or air force. Yugoslavia alone could overrun the country. But the Italians do not expect any real trouble on their borders, for they know their country is a pawn in a much bigger game.

To survive, Italy must immediately receive large outside help. Five hundred thousand Italians must emigrate every year. Much stronger economic controls must be introduced. Ideologically, Italy cannot choose sides because she lives on a volcano with opposing and conflicting interests both inside and outside of her borders.

Romans say, "We are 12 miles from the American border—the sea, and 270 miles from the Russian border—Yugoslavia.

united nations DIARY

A digest of UN activities throughout the world

Young Man in Manhattan

As the sun rose over the Manhattan skyline on the morning of September 16, 1947, a young man in a modest midtown hotel room switched off the night lamp beside his bed and put down his book. He had been reading the Charter of the United Nations. Solemn on the morning of his first big international conference, he was preparing himself for his duties as a minor delegate from a Scandinavian land. He tried hard to memorize the rules of procedure frozen into chapters, articles, sections and cross references. The words of the Preamble to the Charter kept running through his brain.

"WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS, DETERMINED TO ESTABLISH CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH JUSTICE AND RESPECT FOR THE OBLIGATIONS ARISING FROM TREATIES AND OTHER SOURCES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW CAN BE MAINTAINED . . ."

The young man arose to prepare himself for the opening of the conference at which those words were to be tested.

The Destiny of Nations

As the long black limousines rolled into the courtyard of the gray building in Flushing Meadow, each delegation was greeted by its own flag fluttering in the light morning breeze. Middle-aged men with heavy pouches under their eyes and light brief-cases in their hands stepped from the cars. They were followed by younger men carrying heavier brief-cases—the specialists, the advisers, the bagmen and the gagmen.

As the young delegate stepped into the building where the United Nations was about to open the Second Session of its General Assembly, four disabled veterans pushed past him in rubber-wheeled chairs.

". . . TO SAVE SUCCEEDING GENERATIONS" continued the Preamble, "FROM THE SCOURGE OF WAR, WHICH TWICE IN OUR LIFE-TIME HAS BROUGHT UNTOLD SORROW TO MANKIND . . ."

Inside the hall rose the familiar cacophony of diplomacy on the morning of an international conference—blurred, noisy and incoherent, like the tuning of a symphony orchestra awaiting the rap of the conductor's baton. Diplomats who would be sparring for the rest of the Session greeted each other with friendly hellos and warm handshakes. Professionally they were opponents. Privately they were friends.

". . . TO EMPLOY INTERNATIONAL MACHINERY FOR THE PROMOTION OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT OF ALL PEOPLES . . .," continued the young man in silent soliloquy.

At 10:15 a.m. the gavel of Temporary President Dr. Oswaldo Aranha of Brazil came down with a bang, opening the 444th meeting of the General Assembly.

The fledgling delegate had time to think of just one more fragment of the Preamble: ". . . TO PRACTICE TOLERANCE AND LIVE TOGETHER IN PEACE WITH ONE ANOTHER AS GOOD NEIGHBORS . . ."

The President's opening speech was solemn. He spoke of the moral issue imposed on every item of the ambitious and potentially explosive agenda. And he pronounced the words that were in all minds:

"Ours is not only a pact among nations but a pact with the destiny of nations. It is here that the world will organize peace or hasten war. The moment is crucial. . . ."

The young Scandinavian looked at his wrist watch.

It was just past the eleventh hour.

One Hour To Go

The General Assembly last y opened with a parade up Broa way; this year it opened with parade of words—and what wor The American poet who sa "Diplomacy is to do and say t nastiest things in the nicest wa died only nine years ago. It seem more like a hundred. This n

Myrna Loy with Executive Assistant the Secretary General, Andrew Cor

diplomacy seems to do its thi ing with its fists.

Unanimity appeared only on t first and unimportant ballots. T committee on headquarters w established unanimously and f of the six committee chairmen w elected without a dissenting vo From then on the votes were rected sharply to the right or the left. Unpredictable element w the twenty-vote bloc of La American nations, determined wield a powerful influence on ternational decisions. Bargaini sharply, they traded their vo with anyone who would vote w them on the things they want Their effectiveness was dem strated when they succeeded keeping dark horse Oswaldo Ar ha in the presidency of the sembly. After the second bal he won out over the two logi candidates, Jan Masaryk, rep

enting the Eastern bloc, and Herbert Vere Evatt of Australia for the West. (See "Aranha of Brazil," p. 28.)

Other split votes occurred on the establishment of the Palestine Committee, on the U.S. proposal to include Korean independence on the agenda and on the Argentine suggestion to ease the terms of the Italian peace treaty.

The Security Council elections dragged on for weeks. The memberships of Poland, Australia and Brazil expire this year. It had been expected that, conforming to the over-all geographic representation system recommended by the Charter, they would be replaced by nations in their own geographic or political spheres.

Canada was elected without much trouble to replace Australia as a British Commonwealth "representative." Argentina was named to replace Brazil when the Latin American bloc got the votes of Russia and her friends in exchange for their support of the Ukraine's candidacy. However, the Western powers who would have accepted Czechoslovakia, would not agree to the Ukraine. They threw their support to India, instead. Neither candidate had obtained the required two-third majority for election after 9 ballots.

Elections of six new members to the Economic and Social Council presented no difficulty. But no nation, after four ballots, received the required majority for the two empty seats on the Trusteeship Council.

At the end of the first day's deliberations, a newspaperman—one of the 400 accredited to the Assembly—buttonholed a delegate. "Would you say, sir, that this session is an eleventh hour effort to hold the UN together?"

The silver - haired diplomat nodded: "Yes, it is an eleventh hour effort . . . The Assembly convenes at 11 . . . My committee meets at 1 . . . Our delegation discusses plans until 11 every night . . . The UN schedule is geared to that hour. But, I am not superstitious. We still have another hour to go."

"Rusty Razor Blades, Smitten Tin"

The General Debate is an essential part of the Assembly agenda. Its speeches set the tone that usually prevails throughout the session. Of the speeches in this particular debate, Kipling might have said they were delivered in "tones like rusty razor blades to tunes like smitten tin."

The speeches rolled on through 11 plenary sessions until 39 nations had been heard. Only 16 nations—the introverts of diplomacy—remained silent. The speeches brought the whole world into the hall in the Meadow. But by the time the last one was delivered, it was apparent that there was more than one world in that hall.

General Marshall was the first Big Five representative to speak. Never an ingratiating orator, he lectured the Russians forthrightly. He accused them of holding up the German and Japanese peace treaties, of threatening through their satellites the independence of Greece,

Western Power Delegates Herbert Evatt, Australia, and Paul-Henri Spaak, Belgium

Eastern Power Delegates Jan Masaryk, Czechoslovakia and Andrei Vishinsky, USSR

U.S. Chief Delegate George C. Marshall.

UN DIARY *(Continued)*

of deliberately keeping Korea split and helpless, of thwarting the will of the majority of nations by abusing the veto power. He proposed drastic remedies: that a committee be set up to explore means of changing the veto procedure, that a permanent assembly committee take up security problems stalemated in the Security Council.

In regard to the atom bomb, he hinted that "If the minority persists in refusing to join with the majority, the Atomic Energy Commission may soon be faced with the conclusion that it is unable to complete the task assigned," and that the other nations would go ahead without the U.S.S.R.

While preparing his speech, Marshall might have remembered the words of another American general, who also fought a battle on Long Island. In his farewell address to the American people, George Washington warned:

"Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence . . . the jealousy of a free people ought to be *constantly* awake. . . . But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike of another cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other."

Prosecutor Vishinsky

The next day Mr. Vishinsky was ready for his counterattack. For one hour and 32 minutes he excoriated every phase of U.S. foreign policy. He accused influential American "reactionary circles" of desiring war with the Soviet Union to further a "crazy plan for world domination." He named as "warmongers" prominent American personalities and organizations. He charged them with instigating a new war to prevent "collapse of their profits." American corporations, he said, had made net profits of 52 billion dollars during World War II. He branded the Truman and Marshall Plans as attempts to subjugate European nations to U.S. economic monopolies; he charged the British and French governments with assisting in this attempt. He branded Marshall's proposal for a permanent "little assembly" as unconstitutional and his action in bringing the independence of Korea before the assembly as a violation of the Moscow Declaration of 1945.

He declared the charges made against Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania and Greece were "utterly arbitrary without any proof." He concluded with a presentation of a resolution that would place the UN on record as condemning "the criminal propaganda of a new war" which he said was "being carried on in the U.S., Turkey and Greece."

Missed Opportunity

World-wide reaction to the two speeches was instant and alarmed. Marshall was called "The voice of Wall Street" in the U.S.S.R.; his speech was described as "statesmanlike" in Egypt; "a long-overdue counterattack" in France and "a clear statement of realities" in Turkey.

Vishinsky's speech was called "a bombshell" in the U.S.; "a cyclone sweeping everything before it" by the French radio; "a great contribution to international security" in Czechoslovakia; "a stinking pile of abuses" in Turkey.

Four days later, short, stocky Scottish Hector MacNeil, British Chief Delegate, replied with the polite ruthlessness that has long been practiced in British parliamentary debate. His speech was a masterpiece of wit and sarcasm, providing much mirth. But in the final analysis, MacNeil missed a great opportunity to bridge widening chasm.

Trygve Lie ended the de with what many regard as the est speech of his career. He scribed as "intolerable" the thou that differences between the p ers should be allowed to lea war, concluding, "The day has g forever when any nation or group of nations, no matter strong, can find security from aster in its own strength alone. The United Nations is the hope for all nations, for the str est . . . as well as the weakest."

Shift of Scene

The delegate is on parade at Fl ing Meadow Park, and he kn it. In the tremendous, high-

Simic of Yugoslavia, Kiselev of B russia, Manuilsky of Ukranian S.S.R. Lange of Poland

inged hall he takes on a dram aura as he marches alone d the aisle, ascends the rostrum addresses the world. It is here he can make his most polished pression, since he usually r from a prepared and rehearsed t with no danger of interruption

It is an entirely different ma however, when the scene shift Lake Success (as it did on T day, September 23rd) where business is transacted in Com tee meetings. Here the real di matic art of compromise, per sion and/or bluff comes into p

Delegates who put on a g show at Flushing are someti badly miscast for the word bat debates and rebuttal of a Com

tee. Others, who fumble with a prepared text speech, are completely adept at the fast legal footwork that marks the relatively informal Committee discussions.

There are six main Committees:

- First Committee—Political and Security;
- Second Committee — Economic and Financial;
- Third Committee—Social, Humanitarian and Cultural;
- Fourth Committee — Trusteeship;
- Fifth Committee — Administrative and Budgetary;
- Sixth Committee—Legal.

There are also two Special Committees dealing with the Palestine question and the establishment of permanent UN headquarters.

United States Delegates John Foster Dulles, Herschel V. Johnson and Warren R. Austin.

"Summit of Eloquence"

First Committee is the real heart of the Assembly organization. Almost every nation is represented by its Chief Delegate. On the Agenda of this Committee are the most controversial items, usually hogging more headlines than all the other Committees combined. Its temper is notoriously quick, its language surprisingly undiplomatic at times.

The debate on the Greek situation resulted in one of the most disorderly displays in UN history. Yugoslavia's Dr. Ales Bebler abandoned all restraint in attacking governments and delegates who charged his country with giving aid to Greek guerrillas, rode roughshod over attempts to stop him. "I do not permit you to use that expression," said Chairman Beck of Luxembourg.

"I'll do it without your permission, then!" shouted Bebler.

Belgium's wily Prime Minister Henri Spaak finally stopped him cold. "If the force of an orator can be measured by the number of his insults," he said, "Dr. Bebler has reached the summit of eloquence."

The debate on Greece sounded variations of the old tune. U.S. delegate Herschel Johnson reiterated charges that the three Balkan governments had given assistance to guerrillas fighting against the Greek Government; Andrei Gromyko of the U.S.S.R. gave the stock answer that the anti-democratic character of the present Greek Government is the main "causative factor" in the Balkan situation.

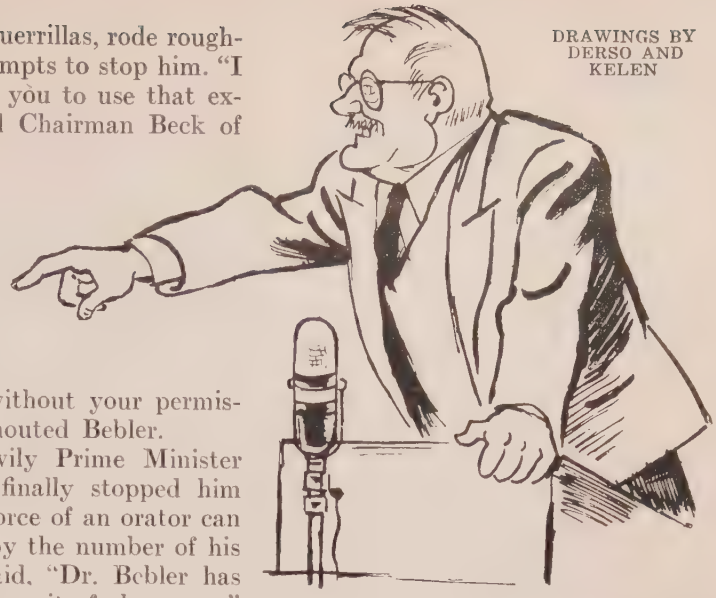
Most unpopular suggestion to the big powers came from Egypt's spokesman, who urged withdrawal of *all* foreign troops from the Balkans "regardless of pretext."

The U.S. resolution to establish a semi-permanent Balkan Commission omitted censure of Greece's neighbors provided they pledged compliance with the General Assembly's recommendations. It was adopted by an overwhelming majority. Russia and Poland refused seats on the Commission.

After weeks of debate, the weary Committee had plenty of explosive issues still on its agenda: treatment of Indians in South Africa; the veto; revision of the Italian Peace Treaty; relations with Spain; independence of Korea; and establishment of a "little assembly" committee of the General Assembly to deal with matters stalemated in the Security Council.

The debate is expected to reach its pyrotechnic climax when the 57 United Nations present their views on the Soviet proposal regarding measures to be taken "against propaganda and the inciters of a new war." Directed at the U.S., it may boomerang.

DRAWINGS BY DERSO AND KELEN



U.S.S.R. Chief Delegate Andrei Vishinsky

Common Man's Committee

Second Committee, headed by Chile's Hernan de Santa Cruz, deals with problems of more immediate interest to the common man than the question of who is right or wrong in Greece. However, the East-West fight crept in here too when Poland's Lange submitted a resolution suggesting that all international economic and social problems be solved within the framework of the UN—a direct attack on the Marshall Plan.

But there were other nations, tired of the fruitless big-power debate, who had come to Second Committee to plead their own economic causes. Chile wanted UN to raise the low standard of living in Latin America by supporting industrialization. India attacked the policy of reducing food production, as practiced in several well-fed nations, while other nations were in dire want. Holland urged the restoration of the former heavily industrialized nations devastated by the war. Egypt proposed international scrutiny of foreign investments in order to protect debtor nations against political domination and economic exploitation.

Long after the political wrangles elsewhere are forgotten, the recommendations of Second Committee —if the Assembly acts on them— will be making the world a more comfortable place to live in.

Ladies Committee

Third Committee is attended by more women—13 alternates and advisers—than any other. But the

presence of bright hats and the aura of perfume did not noticeably lessen the tension. The debate was as forthright here as elsewhere.

The session has been marked by frequent verbal clashes. The Ukraine's Demchenko charged that the U.S. was detaining 400,000 Soviet citizens who wanted to go home to Russia. He further accused the U.S. and U.K. of forcing DP's and children into slave labor in the U.S., in Canadian forests, Brazilian jungles and Belgian and British coal mines. This brought Eleanor Roosevelt to her feet to ask for the names of the people and organizations which had recruited child slaves for the U.S. She expressed ironic doubt that U.S. immigration authorities and trade unions—notably alert to such practices—could have been caught napping.

More fundamental problem was raised by the forthcoming Freedom of Information Conference, to be held next spring in Geneva. Russia offered for inclusion on the agenda of the conference a resolution that "a free press can exist only where newspapers are organized by society" rather than by private persons. It was voted down by a large majority.

Reversal of Form

Fourth Committee, dealing with trusteeship over 300 million non-self-governing people of the world, showed a startling reversal of form among nations when it came to handling colonial problems. At its last session, the Assembly had denied the Union of South Africa's request to incorporate the mandate of South West Africa into its territory and recommended, instead, that it be converted into a UN trusteeship. To date, South Africa has done nothing to comply, the delegate for the Union declaring that his country was not obliged to agree.

On this question, the Western powers sided with South Africa, found themselves in a lonely minority. The majority of the nations of the world were ranged solidly against them.

Here Russia eked out one of her few important victories. By a 20-19 vote, the committee passed a resolution ordering administering powers to report on how much self-government exists in their colonies. Britain replied with the U.S.S.R.'s favorite argument, that it would be "an infringement of their national sovereignty."

GINNIE HOFFMAN

United Nations Pressroom, where newsmen file their reports in thirty languages . . .

The High Cost of Argument

Fifth Committee, dealing with comparatively non - controversial administrative and budgetary problems, is the envy of most of the distraught members of the other Committees. Its principal concern is whether the UN budget should be $34,449,861, or pared to the straight $30,000,000 as Britain desires. When drastic economies in the appropriations for the Secretariat were proposed, Andrew Cordier, Executive Assistant to the Secretary-General, pointed out that two weeks of argument over simple procedural matters by the Assembly had cost half a million dollars.

The Lawyers Agree

Sixth Committee, consisting tirely of lawyers, got down to bu ness fastest of all. In short or it decided that:

▶ The election of members to proposed International Law Co mission be postponed until n year;

▶ October 24, anniversary of t coming into force of the U Charter, be designated throughc the world as "UN day";

▶ The Assembly adopt a f consisting of the UN's official e blem (refer to "UN Diary's" ma head) against a background light blue.

Still to be decided is the tra ically important problem of "ge cide"—the wholesale extermi tion of people for nationalist religious or political reasons.

Judgment of Solomon

The Committee on Palestine, u der the Chairmanship of peppe Herbert Evatt of Australia, had choose one of the two reco mendations made by the Spec Investigating Committee after 2 months of on-the-spot study. (S "Deadline for Palestine," UN October.) The majority recomme dation was that Palestine be par tioned into Arab and Jew states. The minority favored Jewish-Arab federation within single state. All agreed on ea termination of the British manda In this they received the qui acquiescence of the British, w claimed to be eager to termina an exceptionally costly occupati as soon as possible.

The Jewish Agency accepted t majority recommendation. T Arab Higher Committee, hostile both plans, insisted upon imme ate establishment of an Arab Sta for the whole of Palestine.

Even while the U.S. and t U.S.S.R. were announcing th support for partition, the Ar League, meeting in Aley, Leban under the aegis of Hitler's forn friend, the Grand Mufti of Jeru lem, emphasized their view-po by ordering the troops of Leban Syria, Egypt and Transjorda to camp on the Palestine bord No one was willing to guess wh the UN would or could do to m this insolent challenge to its thority. (See "Battle for Palesti page 18.)

UNESCO: *the first year*

A review of the year's accomplishments and a preview of the organization's ambitious program for the future

BY JULIAN HUXLEY

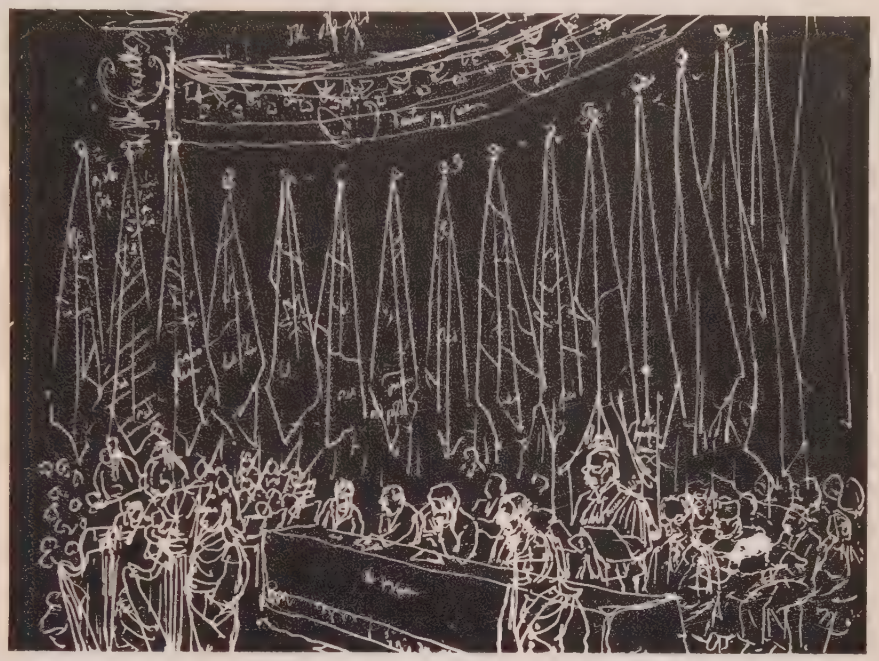
Director General of UNESCO

Here in the headquarters of UNESCO in Paris, we are sometimes a little concerned at the extent of the hope and faith in our organization, which exists on the other side of the Atlantic. It is encouraging, but at the same time worrying, because somewhat unrealistic. Some Americans seem to think that UNESCO can have an immediate and decisive effect upon the world situation, overriding the political difficulties which beset the United Nations and its organs.

We who serve UNESCO also believe in it: but no organization operating through education and culture, especially one which has only a few months of existence, can exert decisive effects on the immediate political situation, and we are afraid that the raising of false hope may lead to disillusionment about UNESCO's real functions and value.

But we are proud of UNESCO, and we do believe in its destiny. The first four months of its independent existence were devoted to the difficult and sometimes disagreeable tasks of translating the vague and diffuse program approved by the December Conference in Paris into operative terms, and adjusting it to a limited budget; of creating the administrative machinery to carry on our work; and building the nucleus of an adequate staff. Yet in the four months that followed we have begun to operate on an extended scale, and can be proud of very real achievements, which in their turn are solid foundations for legitimate hopes for the future.

We have done a great deal in reconstruction. Rebuilding the educational, scientific and cultural life of the countries laid waste by the war and by enemy occupation is the most urgent, though we hope the least enduring of our tasks. We have formed a Temporary International Council for Educational Relief of private international organizations, and we enjoy their fullest cooperation. We have already firm promises of over 60 million dollars' worth of money and educational, scientific and art tribute. We have made surveys both of general educational needs and of technical needs in the field of the press, the radio, the film in a dozen countries (the latter, by the way, is providing us with invaluable information for the promotion of the free flow of information). We are publishing propaganda and information bulletins on reconstruction needs. We are arranging for fellowships and scholarships in many fields, technical as well as academic, whereby men and women isolated by the war may renew contacts and learn skills to rebuild their own countries.



Delegates from 47 nations met for the first plenary session of UNESCO at Paris

We have begun work in education for international understanding by holding a six-weeks seminar in Paris for teachers from all over the world, by collecting textbooks used in the schools of our member nations with a view to recommending improvements and beginning their analysis, and by preparing for an intensive study of various factors that make for war.

We have sent out three field teams of scientists, to Latin America, the Middle and the Far East respectively, to keep the relatively isolated scientists of these regions in closer touch with the main currents of scientific research and its applications, and to promote a speedier and more uniform advance of science.

We have called a meeting of drama experts, who established an International Theatre Institute, drafted its constitution, and returned to their respective countries to set up the national committees for the central institute.

We have helped the UN Commission on Human Rights in framing a new Declaration of the Rights

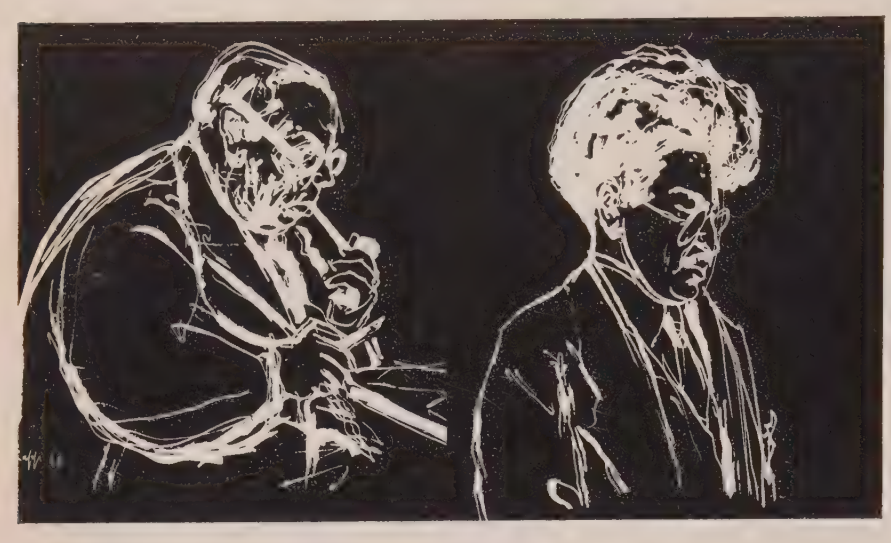
of Man, by obtaining and analyzing contributions on the subject from all over the world, and now are engaged in preparing a volume on this important subject.

More than half of the human species is illiterate and indeed in every other way educationally grossly underprivileged. We have begun to organize an international campaign against illiteracy.

would involve us in hair-splitting arguments and serious ideological disputes. It has been most gratifying to find how delegates and experts with the most diverse geographical, cultural and ideological backgrounds agree on the desirability of the most concrete projects.

First of all, we must work to raise standards in education, science and culture. While science

actual participation of the peop of the world in our work—throu the governments and natio commissions of our Meml States, through private intern tional organizations concern with education, science and c ture, through private individua through public opinion. UNES must enlist the active cooperati of nations, of specialists, and



Delegates J. B. Priestly of Britain, Anthony Para Velasco of Ecuador, and Rajkamari Amrit Kauri of India, Gandhi's secret

We have given financial aid to private international organizations concerned with aspects of our program. Among these organizations which we have helped are the International Bureau of Education, the International Studies Conference, the World Federation of United Nations' Associations, various International Scientific Unions and the International Council of Museums.

We have worked out detailed plans for two surveys in the field of the arts, to be put into operation early in 1948—one on the role of the arts in general education, the other on the rightful place of the arts in society.

We have begun work toward eventually securing a new and truly world-wide convention on copyright.

We have started on the translation of the world's classics requested by the Economic and Social Council.

During our short existence we have also reached a certain number of general working principles. We have renounced the idea of formulating a theoretical "UNESCO philosophy." This would, we feel, not only be a waste of time, but

is a single unified human activity, art and culture are diversified. Accordingly we should try to unify and accelerate the advance of scientific research and its applications, but should attempt to maintain the fruitful diversity of cultures, while at the same time helping in the growth of mutual comprehension.

This leads on to a further general principle concerning our role in promoting the free flow of information. We have come to interpret this not only in the essentially negative sense of breaking down barriers, but also constructively to enable every region to build up its own agencies of information and expression, through periodicals, books, films and radio.

Then we are committed to undertaking work in all the main branches of subjects within our field of competence—Education, the Natural and Social Sciences, Arts and Letters, Philosophy and the Humanities, and the apparatus for storing and diffusing them, such as Libraries, Museums, Press, Cinema and Radio.

A further principle on which we are laying increased stress is that we must endeavor to secure the

the general public.

Viewing these considerations t 1948 program to be submitted our second General Conference Mexico, has been assembled unc five heads—Raising the Standa of Education, Science and Cultu The Free Flow of Ideas; Edu tion for International Understa ing; Man and the Modern Wor and Action through Governme and Peoples.

While largely a development this year's program, it contains number of new projects, such the preparation of a textbook the cultural and scientific hist of mankind as a whole; a Conf ence on nature conservation; search on psychological and ma rial causes of war; a comparat study of universities, their fu tions and means of support; int national aspects of Home a Community Planning; etc.

We believe that UNESCO realizing two important aims. I bringing immediate relief to va ous sore spots in the field of edu tion, science and culture, includ some which threaten the wor peace, and it is laying new a broader foundations for coope tive peace and richer life.

LINE DRAWINGS BY KAPP

What can be done with the veto?

BY CLYDE EAGLETON

Professor of International Law, New York University

In the last issue of UNITED NATIONS WORLD, I stated that the UN was more of a political than a legal order (the use of a headline which spoke of a "legal void" was unfortunate) and that this was due to the emphasis placed upon security in the making of the Charter. Naturally, the next question is, did we get security? The answer is no. The reasons would fill several pages but I shall on this occasion deal with only one of them —the so-called "veto," which is of current importance because of the proposals now under consideration by the General Assembly.

The UN represents a marked gain over the League of Nations in that the Security Council is given the right to decide what constitutes an aggression or threat to the peace and what non-military or military measures should be taken, and in that Members are obligated to accept and support these decisions. The gain is offset, however, by various contingencies in the Charter, one of which is that the Security Council may be unable to reach such decisions because of lack of agreement, or veto, by one of the five permanent members.

Now, the word "veto" is a popular term, not found in the Charter. It translates into a negative sense an affirmative conception adopted at San Francisco as a fundamental principle of UN. This "realistic" policy (which we hope to analyze later) asserted that the five Great Powers were the ones who had won the war, that they were the only ones who could maintain peace, and then only if they were in agreement. If anyone of them should fail to agree on a proposed action, the situation would be one too dangerous for UN to handle. One negative vote, then, would logically mean that the UN could not act. The "veto" is simply the symbol of this disagreement.

An American Invention

The voting procedure which put this principle into effect was of course an American invention, intended to protect the sovereignty of the United States in the eyes of the Senate. As often happens in such a case, it was actually used by others and the American people are not now so enthusiastic about it as they were, or as they would have been if the votes of the Council were steadily against the United States. Many other nations, of course, fought the veto from the beginning; and the steadily declining prestige of the Security Council adds to the clamor against it. There is little chance that this outcry will result in the elimination of the veto, since this would make it possible for a combination of small states, who would risk little, to vote a Great Power into a dangerous armed action.

Secretary of State Marshall while not stipulating procedure, however, indicated that the United States favors modifications in the use of the veto, and specifically its elimination as regards Chapter VI (Pacific Settlements of Disputes) and admission of new members. These changes would not be enough to provide security, but they would be steps toward enabling the Security Council to operate.

Methods

The most obvious method is amendment of the Charter. This is a difficult process because an amendment to the Charter may be vetoed and would have little chance of success.

Another method would be to secure agreement among the Big Five that the veto would not be used except for certain stated purposes. Article 27 of the Charter says little more than that decisions on procedural matters may be taken by vote of any seven and that on other matters, this seven must include all of the permanent members. Some explanation as to what is procedural and what is substantive was given in the Statement of the Sponsoring Powers at San Francisco, but this statement was not adopted by the Conference or put into the Charter. It was simply an understanding between these five states and it could be changed by them at any moment. No action by the UN would be required (unless the Security Council wished to write the agreement into its Rules of Procedure) and no legal objection could be raised.

Such an agreement among those who have the veto is clearly the simplest way to handle the problem and it is not inconceivable that agreement could be reached as to some specific limitations upon the use of the veto. *But the veto cannot be abolished and replaced by majority vote unless some guarantees are put into the Charter for the protection of states*—just as, for example, an individual may be protected by a Bill of Rights in his national constitution against arbitrary legislative interference with his liberties by the majority. On the other hand, the individual cannot in this way protect himself when he commits murder; and it may ultimately become desirable to distinguish in the use of the veto between the aggressor (no veto to protect him) and the call to a Member to use armed force against an aggressor (veto permitted).

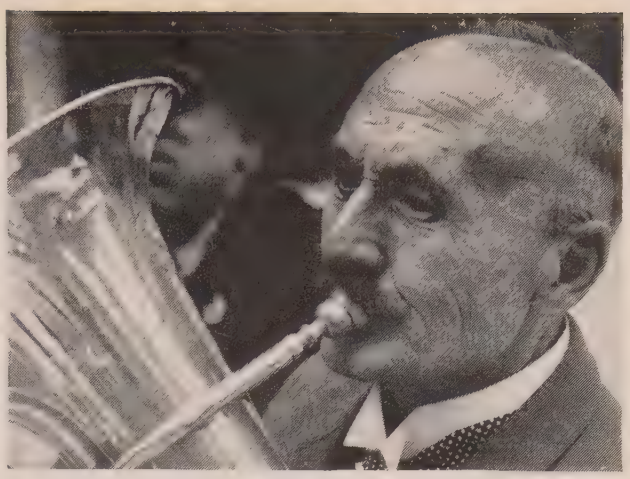
Should the Assembly Take Over?

In the above proposals, the agreement of all five Powers would be needed. Various other suggestions have been made to meet the situation in which such agreement has proven to be impossible. Some of these would have the General Assembly take over. Thus, Secretary Marshall proposed to set up an In-

(*Continued on page* 50)

CH. GOBERT

ittle Belgian boy weds French girl in mock bridal ceremony.



Wasmes coal miner Van Driesten has played for 55 years.

A Belgian town goes to France

Music plays a tremendous part in the lives of the people in some rural areas of France and Belgium where, they say, "a man's life should be divided equally between work and music." Two towns, Issoudun in Central France and Wasmes in Belgium, have begun a musical exchange. Last year, Issoudun rode up to Belgium in a special train as guests of Wasmes. This year, Wasmes followed its band through the ancient towers of Issoudun (page left). Festival lasted three days.

French bagpipers signal the opening of the music festival.

ittle Wasmesienne bites lip excitedly when photographed.

Finale was the torchlight parade of the volunteer firemen.

un WORLD

Highlights from the newspapers and magazines of the world. **pres**

COMBAT
DE LA RÉSISTANCE A LA RÉVOLUTION

Paris, France

FRANCE MUST MEDIATE

The influential Parisian daily, describing the sparring of the U.S. and the USSR in Flushing Meadows as "a draw," calls on France to mediate between the two great powers to avert war. "After Marshall's and Vyshinski's speeches, the eyes of many delegates turned toward the French representative. . . . The time has come to put an end to diplomatic fencing. A cry of warning must be uttered if the danger of war is to be averted and this cry must come from France. We must . . . mobilize world public opinion. We are confident that the situation can still be changed, and changed rather promptly, but if we delay, it will be too late."

CHUNG YANG JIH PAO

Shanghai, China

PROTESTS JAPANESE DUMPING

中央日報

The Far Eastern Commission's decision permitting Japan to export textiles because of shortages in Asia calls forth a vigorous protest. "We not only do not need to import textiles at present, but, on the contrary, we have surplus supplies to be sold on the South Seas market," it declares and makes the point that large-scale Japanese dumping at this stage would restore Japan's prewar monopoly of the Far Eastern textile market. In another editorial, on the second anniversary of V-J Day, the paper laments that "during these two years China's national reconstruction work has made no progress, while the defeated Japanese imperialists are already showing signs of recovery" and warns the Chinese people to rid themselves of their apathy.

STOCKHOLMS-TIDNINGEN

Stockholm, Sweden

U.S. TO PUBLISH HEDIN MAPS

According to an exclusive article U.S. authorities have agreed to publish the Central Asian cartographic material prepared by Dr. Sven Hedin, the Swedish explorer, known for his collaboration with the Nazis. The transaction was prepared by Dr. Hedin's assistant, Professor Erik Noreen during two recent visits to Washington. "This cartographical material," the paper reveals, "is the product of the expedition which took place between 1927 and 1935 and covers the whole of Central Asia and parts of Tibet. The maps were to be published by a German firm in 1942."

ПОЛИТИКА

Belgrade, Yugoslavia

CHURCH SUPPORTS TITO REGIME

Representatives of the People's Front and members of the clergy held an important meeting at Nis. "In the lively discussion which took place, the priests affirmed their willingness for cooperation with the People's Front and suggested that two clergymen should join the municipal executive. Immediately afterwards Archbishop Cankovich and another priest were delegated for this purpose. . . . The decision of the Nis clergy to cooperate with the People's Front is an important contribution toward the clarification of the relationship between the Front and the authorities of the Orthodox Church," according to *Politika*.

Nieuwe Amsterdamsche Courant ALGEMEEN HANDELSBLAD

Amsterdam, The Netherlands

NAZI LOOT STILL MISSING

The democratic Amsterdam daily publishes a report on tracing Netherlands property looted by the Germans. The total value of Dutch property either traced or recovered is estimated at $60,000,000, "only a fraction of what was stolen." Of the 100,000 Dutch cars stolen by the Germans only 250 have been recovered, but 80 per cent of the stolen railway engines were found and returned. "From November 1, 1945, to July 25, 1947," the report reveals, "more than 600 trains and 751 ships transported approximately 75,000 tons of goods back to Holland, an infinitesimal part of the loot the Germans carried away."

הארץ

Tel-Aviv, Palestine

A REMINDER TO MR. JONES

Ha'aretz, Tel-Aviv liberal daily, ridicules radio appeal by Arthur Creech Jones, British Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Empire to help Britain in her economic crisis. "To whom are the words addressed?" it asks. "The white administrators who maintain absolute rule over the colonies are subject to instructions from London. Or are they meant to appeal to the masses of natives the vast majority of whom are still in a backward stage of cultural development? What exactly is expected of them? That they tighten their belts in order to save raw materials for British industry? How could a minister of a great power think for a moment that by standing at the microphone he could nullify the effect of long-standing neglect and backwardness, of colonial exploitation and lack of planning?"

The Standard

Wellington, New Zealand

HOW TO HELP BRITAIN

In an editorial entitled "New Zealand for Britain," the official organ of the Zealand Labor Movement says: "Just best New Zealand can help Britain has yet been determined, but it seems cer that heavy reductions in our imports the dollar countries will have to be r in order that we should not cause avoidable drain on Britain's dollar resou Increased exports of food will also be a g help at this stage. . . . Our strength is b on the strength of Britain, our best custo in times of peace and our bulwark in t of war."

But whatever sacrifices we are called to make should be accepted without plaint.

UOMO QUALUNQUE

Rome, Italy

"THE ENEMY TO BE FEARED

Reporting on the National Congres the Front of the "Uomo Qualunq (branded as a Fascist party), the p describes a message from Premier de Gas congratulating the gathering and a mes from the Vatican Secretariat "grantin request for an audience with the Pope t members of the Congress." Even so, P dent Giannini of the Front, in outlining political situation, "criticized at le Christian Democracy which he describe 'the enemy to be feared most.' The pre Christian Democratic government, he ad enjoyed the support of Uomo Qualu only for practical political reasons of moment. Giannini added that he was afraid of Communism, since 'Uomo Q unque is ready to face its threat with and all means.'"

EL TIEMPO

Bogotá, Colombia

MEDIOCRE WORLD LEADERSH

Commenting on the world's political l ership today an editorial entitled "A versal Phenomenon," says: "Either pre problems are gigantic in size, different those of any other epoch, or the states who must solve them are of a very mo stature both in spirit and talent. . . . Ev thing has been foreseen . . . from the eral declaration of principles in the Atla Charter to the creation of the most im tant specialized organizations. And yet p appears nowhere . . . and no one d to think of the possibility of outlawing . . . Mediocrity appears to be ruling a illusioned world."

PERSONAL OPINION:

Division and Condominium

A plan to give a divided world time to control nature's new forces for peace

By Vincent Sheean

divide is relatively easy; to in peace after division is a task ı difficulties which sometimes n insuperable. The past summer seen, in Pater's phrase, many ividing of forces on their way. July 9, in Paris, those states ch acknowledge the geopolitical lership of the Soviet Union with-w from the consultations which begun on the Marshall Plan the restoration of Europe. Since n the withdrawal has become re marked rather than less. In ia a division has been tragically cted with human bodies as the of of its reality. In Palestine an logous concept has been put for-d as a recommendation to the ited Nations Assembly and may, one form or another, be tested act. In China, Greece and Korea, the Nile Valley and in Indo-ia, men have been set apart in ities of variable degree and d, all seeming to aim at the same —the wall, the hostile frontier, long divorce of steel.

f this should be the configura-ı imposed upon the world-his-cal reality of the present hour, the passing months reiterate, n it should be the part of in-igence to accept that new con-ration, and, moving on into a dscape irreversibly transformed destiny, to make the best of it. e earth-star has dwindled. So be We have to deal now in new ns with a new set of conditions n which a knowledge of the t sheds but little and most un-tain light. In fact there has been time in human history when the ver of life and death has been langerously concentrated in two nense states, who thus hold be-en them, in an age of profound tromagnetic innovation, the tent of our common future.

The division must be, because it It exists. Under certain quite conceivable circumstances it could lead to war. In the Soviet Union, life and thought take form under the dictates of a socio-economic theory which no longer applies to the objective situation, if in fact it ever did. (Marxian orthodoxy was at its most persuasive in the nineteenth century, and a good case could be made for the historical thesis that its end-product and supreme practical genius, Lenin, brought it to the stage of ecclesiastical petrification). Even if it should be supposed, as the Russian party-state must suppose, that this rigid straitjacket of theory based upon the concrete conditions of a century ago does still apply to the development of human society—ignoring, for the sake of such a supposition, the glaring fact that the United States itself has disproved, on the greatest scale, some fundamental Marxian "laws"—how can the ideologues of Moscow ideate, imagine or set out before themselves a pattern for the future?

Russia Expects Capitalist Collapse

They must, according to their own theory, expect a very great economic depression and such a collapse or weakening of the capitalist system as would make the United States negligible in the affairs of Europe and Asia. And in fact, by their behavior in the United Nations and elsewhere (the Balkans, Korea) the Russians do show that this is their fixed idea.

But how can such a depression come, even according to the Marxian analysis, in an economy which is no longer uncontrolled and has thrust upon it the tensions of preparation for war? Depressions and great unemployment do not come in time of war or preparation for war. Why, then, do the Russians act in a way which makes practically inevitable the coming series of events in the United States: universal military service, increased technological research and ultimately a return to war production? Do they not see that the neo-Tsarism of their course in Europe and Asia will throw the United States into that economic tension under which unemployment becomes almost impossible? And if depression and unemployment become impossible, in what way do they hope to challenge a technological society so supreme as America had become in 1945?

Or are they—like Tito—too backward in gadgetry to realize our technological supremacy?

This last is no longer conceivable, after the record of German scientists and scientific workers deported to Russia. The Germans had reached a high level, particularly in electromagnetics, by 1944, although I suspect from the carelessness of their conversations in the air that they never knew how expert we were in tapping their wave-lengths. Their devices for the detection and identification of anomalies at a distance were good, although nowhere near as good as the British, and we all know that they had made considerable progress towards atomic fission. In rockets they were ahead of us; and at Salerno in 1943 they had already employed a radio-directed bomb with effect (although why they abandoned it afterwards I for one never found out: some industrial difficulty or low priority on materials, perhaps). In a number of other respects they were making considerable progress towards the levels the Anglo-Americans had reached, and there is reason to suppose that they might in peacetime, in their Russian captivity, go on to the end.

But even if they do so, the basic requirement of a technological society is the unthinking skills and

habits of the population, particularly the young male population. It will be a considerable time before the Russians can transform their society so fundamentally: indeed all the Five Year Plans had and have as their object such transformation, and even so the waste and reckless destruction of *materiel* in the hands of young Russians was the fable of all the airfields where we came into contact with them. They do not possess a technological society yet, and in technological warfare during the foreseeable future they would lose.

Soviet Delusions

We return, then, to the prior ascertainment, which is as sure as anything can be: that they count upon capitalist collapse, promised them by official theory, and yet act in such a way as to make that collapse improbable or impossible. We are driven to the conclusion that although they do not want war (nobody with a vestige of sanity wants war) they are so imprisoned in their theory that they regard it as inevitable. They are also the victims of a strange delusion, arising from their theory, which is that the working people of the whole world, including the United States, are at heart on their side.

Language will scarcely penetrate the armor of such dogma. When Henry Wallace made his attack on the Byrnes foreign policy a year ago at Madison Square Garden, Molotov in Paris remarked to a certain foreign minister, "You see, the American people are rising against their reactionary foreign policy." With his training and life-experience Molotov could never really understand how grotesque his view of the United States appears to us. Similar limitations exist on our side, but since the advent of General Marshall to the State Department we can at least be sure that good will exists, completely divorced from partisan politics, at a decisive point.

How are we to transcend language and transvaluate the values? For is this not, in sum, what we have to do?

The diplomatic burden lies heaviest upon us, and our course has already been directed by certain facts (such as geography) over which we have no control. Some appearance of a new kind of "imperialism" on our side, contrasting with the new kind of "imperialism" on the other, has already become inevitable. Critical and distinctly formative events are at hand: form one, the principal one, the election to the American presidency in 1948. If this should fall upon a general, there is nobody in the world, literate or illiterate, outside our own borders who would believe that we did not mean war. Whatever the outcome, the world-historical situation asks of the Americans that they elect a president who can convince the world of our will to peace.

If such a miracle should occur, what shape could the future take?

It is already clear that a division of the world has taken place. The step to which we come, however reluctantly, is that of the creation of a condominium for peace. The only alternative is war. A condominium means bold, comprehensive proposals to the Russians, as bold as Hitler's, for instance. When a division has taken place, whether it is on a world-scale or in a single country, the only alternative to war is condominium. It could only be done by direct negotiation upon agenda from which no subject of importance would be excluded: how it could be brought into harmony with the existing structure of the United Nations is—from the point of view of peace or war, which under the circumstances means life or death—a technical question. If there should then subsist upon the earth for forty or fifty years an artificial equilibration no more respectable, intellectually, than the inventions of Castlereagh and Metternich, it would at least give mankind time to bring the new forces of nature under such control as might eradicate the causes of conflict. Atomic fission has such possibilities that its effect upon the life, wealth and happiness of mankind (H. G. Wells' phrase) might, in a few decades, do just that. It has never been possible before. Will the challenge — perhaps the last which our form of life will produce —evoke a response?

It appears to me that we shall know the answer within two or three years.

Security, in the General Asse
There is need for such a cont
body for the General Assemb
any case. It has been asserte
this would be a violation o
Charter since it seeks to trans
the General Assembly powers
to the Security Council. The
posal does not accord with the
inal intent to give exclusive c
to the Security Council, but
is no ground for the charge t
is unconstitutional. Under A
10 and 11, the General Asse
was given some jurisdiction
the maintenance of peace, an
was done partly in anticip
of exactly what has happen
deadlocked Security Council
der Article 22 the Assembly
set up such subordinate orga
it deems necessary; under A
35, any Member can refer a di
to the General Assembly i
than to the Security Council
proposal expressly reserves
rights of the Security Counci

Again, Article 51 is called
as a means of evading an *im*
in the Security Council. Th
ticle, which permits "individu
collective" self-defense, was al
serted in the Charter to care
situation in which the Sec
Council might be unable to re
decision. It is limited, howev
"armed attack," and is subje
the jurisdiction of the Sec
Council, and may therefore n
as useful as thought by some

Finally, mention may be ma
suggestions which appeared in
cent issue of the *American Ba*
sociation Journal, referring t
"illegal" character of the co
tion which adopted the Ame
Constitution. The suggestion
made that, if the veto should
vent necessary amendments t
Charter, a conference might
larly be called and that a re
of the Charter there agreed
would become effective upon
fication by a sufficient numb
states. This procedure should
garded only in the light o
resort.

The importance of the veto
as a vote, but as a symbol o
agreement among the great Po
We do not believe that their a
ment is indispensable. Howev
is of the utmost importance.

UN politically speaking

BY EVELYN G. KESSEL

bout people and happenings in and around the United Nations

Kicks Coming

happened toward the end of a lious session of the Statistical mmission at Lake Success. A ed interpreter announced: "All se in agreement will please raise ir right legs." But the dazed tisticians were not caught nap- g. Not one leg was brandished.

sy Bachelor

tea on a recent Saturday, we oyed a talk with Herschel V. nson, alternate American repre- tative on the Security Council. There is a reverberation of the uth in his accent plus a conti- tal edge that lifts him away m his native North Carolina. t that smooth voice can utter ne devastating things from the tform. We had sat through some rmy sessions when he delivered remarks courteously yet with vocative firmness—occasionally h a touch of sarcasm. Set jaw l narrowed eyes give a measure his determination.

"Well, I don't know that I'm rticularly aggressive but I do ve considerable power of resist- ce," he said, taking up his cup. Away from the council room, wever. Mr. Johnson's manner asantly relaxes. He is again the n of the world as I first saw him pre-war days, portly and well- omed, with jutting eyebrows, aring the pin-striped suit and er tie of the diplomat.

Aside from his interest in the haeological side of Chinese art, . Johnson's hobby is being an lividualist. "I enjoy anything at that doesn't require my pres- e in a place at a time when I't want to be there—hate being rried and pushed. So of course e got a job that makes me get early, work late, and rush some- ere." His face brightened. "But going to the theatre tonight— t time in months."

Mr. Johnson lives in a Fifth enue hotel, often dines alone and sn't feel that he belongs to New York. "I'm adjusted to it now, but really have no feeling of home. No roots here from my youth. Odd being an American stranger in New York, isn't it?"

Herschel J. Johnson and Lady Astor

"You never married?"

"I'm too critical—perhaps unreasonable. I expect more of women than of men. Entirely irrational!"

Yet he has decided opinions about the ladies whom he thinks he might have made unhappy. "I particularly dislike sloppiness in women—either of mind or appearance. I admire kind and good women. I can't stand the hard ones. I don't find career women necessarily hard. Hardness is a quality of the heart. It has nothing to do with whether a woman follows a career. Some career women are extraordinarily wise, sympathetic and understanding because they've had to make it the hard way. A pin-up darling, unless she has character and courage, will be a charwoman within 15 years.

"Of course, I admire women!" he conceded. "They're much stronger than we are. But—I admire them objectively."

Statesmen Can Be Lovely

The Lake Success and Flushing Meadow Lounges boast the best-dressed women in politics. Among the most striking is the Greek Ambassadress, Mme. Vassili Dendramis. Tall, with a tip-tilted nose and dimples, she usually wears black clothes, simple and Parisian, no hat, and a bow in her dark hair. Since the influx of Washington visitors here, she has had to expand the bow to a full-sized chapeau because, she explains, protocol frowns on a hatless coiffure. Mme. Dendramis, unlike some other statesmen's wives, closely follows international affairs. I have several times watched her in the Security Council during a heated debate when she utters little exclamations or runs out to smoke a cigarette.

Miss Maria Witteween, Counsellor of the Embassy of the Netherlands Delegation, is another decorative figure. She gives the impression of great tranquillity and a well-integrated personality. She worked in the League of Nations for eight years, and now watches the building up of the UN with enormous enthusiasm. Despite her busy job as advisor to the Budgetary and Administrative Committee she still finds time to dress charmingly. The outfit that drew most attention last month was a rose dress—attractive contrast to her wide-set blue eyes —and a small beige hat pertly set on well-coiffed white hair. Commenting on the "new look" in women's clothes, Miss Witteween remarked, "I think it is a wonderful thing—for European women. If all the American women will send their 'old-look' clothes to their sisters in Europe, they will provide more clothing there than has been available in the last eight years."

Another charming visitor to the lounges is tall Mrs. Bodil Begtrup, member of the Danish Delegation to the UN and President of the Status of Women Commission. "I'm not a feminist," she says, in her soft cultured voice, "but I *am* feminine." She looked it too, in her gold-colored silk tailleur with matching gold felt breton setting off chestnut hair. She believes more women will be represented in UN as their participation in world problems grows.

The Prince of Yemen and his friends

The Gentleman from Yemen

Prince Seiful-Islam Abdullah, sixth son of H. M. the King of Yemen, who lives in a tower apartment in the Sherry-Netherland, invited us to coffee (very strong and black) last week. With him were two other Yemen gentlemen, His Excellency Al-Kadi, Muhammed Al-Amri (the desk clerk calls him "al") and interpreter George Nazib Wakim.

Yemen has seldom appeared on the international scene. It is a country mysterious, grand and remote as a land beyond the moon. The Yemen gentlemen showed us photographs never before permitted to be seen by the rest of the world. Although the Prince was living in a skyscraper, tall buildings are not new to him. In fact, the first skyscraper in history was built in Yemen 2,000 years ago. It was 20 stories high. While it has long since disappeared, palaces in Yemen today are still nine stories high—without elevators. This should provide a measure of the hardihood of the people.

It was the first time His Highness had talked with an inquisitive American woman but he was entirely equal to the occasion. His eyes are kindly behind glasses, his smile wide, his curly black beard encircles his face like an inverted halo. He was wearing a *jubbah*—a long gown of white silk, brown golf shoes and brightly colored Argyle socks. On his head was the national headdress, a white turban with a tail at the back. The Prince apologized for receiving us so informally. When he is fully dressed, he adds Kashmir scarves, shawls, belts and a beautifully jeweled dagger.

We were naturally interested in the Prince's great Yemen palace but mention of it bored him. He was much more excited about his new modern house in San'a which, from his discussion, appears to be very similar to a suburban home in Los Angeles, with the latest mechanical and electrical conveniences including stoves, refrigerators and air conditioning.

The only difficulty the Yemenites have encountered in America is determining the exact direction toward Mecca for their daily prayers. "We use a compass, of course," said the interpreter, "and here in the hotel we have found that it points directly at Longchamps Restaurant on 59th Street."

His Highness has firm ideas about women. He believes the Yemen woman's place is in the home. He is prepared to have women educated "but on certain fixed lines." We asked about his own wife. "You might not find her occupations sufficient outlet for American energy," he answered, "but supervising palace housekeeping, embroidering, knitting, reading and five daily prayers keep her pretty busy. There are plenty of visitors—ladies, of course. Then, if there is nothing else for her to do, she can always study the Koran."

Asked if his wife was pretty, His Highness answered gently, "Every woman is beautiful to the man who loves her."

Pichi Politician

We were at a small table at the Press Bar chatting with A. Salim, the Indonesian Republic's Minister of Foreign Affairs, who is always the focus of attention because of his white goatee and a small black cap called a *pichi*, which he wears indoors as well as out. "I don't like the color of my hair," he offers as explanation.

The minister is a cheerful, sprightly man and an outstanding linguist. "I have made many translations of the English classics into Malay for our schools, including *The Taming of the Shrew*, although that kind of domestic problem is foreign to us. We don't go in much for taming ladies. We have much respect for them . . . of course, there is always a limit.

"I am sorry for our you who cannot decide to marr the lady has decided for t makes the girls so independe then in Indonesia the womd traditionally been the boss customary for the men t home and rock the cradle w wife goes to market and d trading. That's because th were originally servants Rajas and subject to seiz forced labor. To assure the c ity of the family, we had t things in the hands of women. he added, "we just enjoy bei

"In our country women most active part in public l have a woman Minister of Affairs and some 20 women bers of the National Assemb don't do much better tha here yourself, do you? I ha very clever daughters and every expectation that th become important people.

"As for myself," Mr. Sali adjusting his *pichi* to a s angle, and taking up his M tan, "I am rapidly going d in my old age. After 33 y teetotalling, I now drink like. I am still celebrating th of our Republic!" With t drained his glass.

Press Note

Presiding over the UN Pr vision is George Barnes, a y man with a fine-drawn asce of certain Italian primitive ings. He joined the Secretar ing the first week of its ex "We started from scratch played it by ear at first . . know the tune by heart.

"The thing we have her extent I have never encoun any other press job I ha had," he says, "is *esprit d* There are three girls workin press teletypes who coul much better pay in private try while working one-t hard. They travel two h each direction to get here an work until 9 or 10 p.m."

A good illustration is p by Miss Betty Clemens, lance stenographer first Francisco, and now at La cess, who says: "I'm work crazy, but I'm crazy ab work. I'm afraid to take a v because I'm actually afr miss something."

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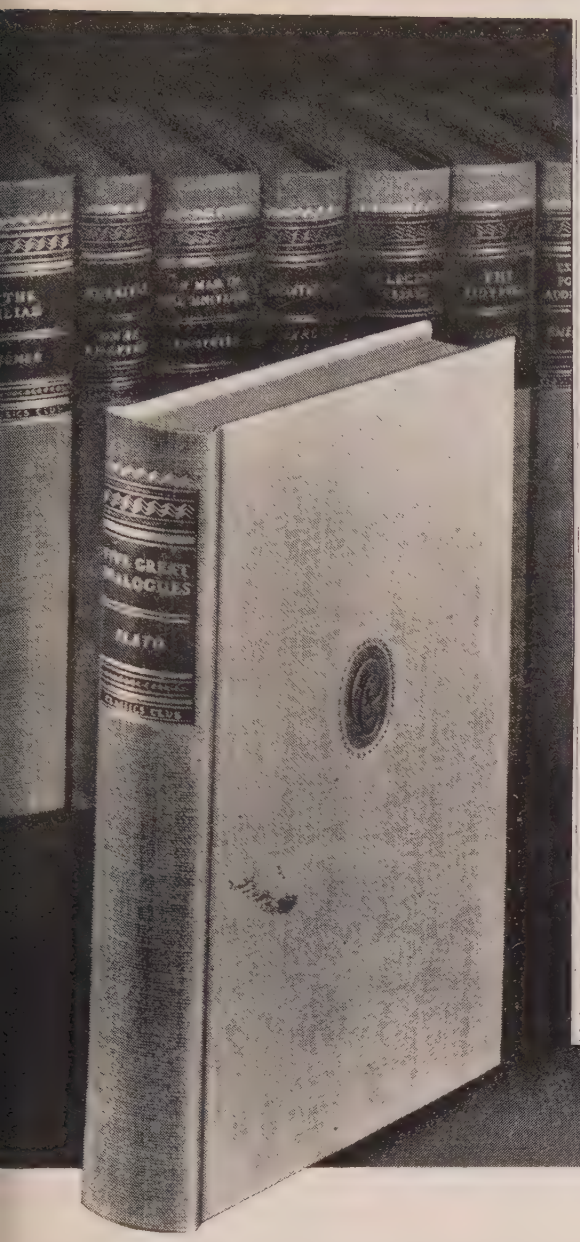

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notes from the GRASS ROOT

• "When I have completed my higher education I intend to become a member of the United Nations," writes Miss Marijane Eastman, senior at East Orange, N. J., High School. Here is a young lady who can see through the murk that now enshrouds Flushing Meadow, to the day when people and not nations will mount the imposing rostrum to drive another hammer blow for peace. We got to thinking about that ambition of Marijane's, and it reminded us (of all things) of Beardsley Ruml, head of Macy's Department Store which sells everything but peace and war, and the remark he once made: "It takes twelve years to educate a people."

Twelve years, say, from the Atlantic Charter? That means by 1953 we will have a whole new generation ready to run things with the new concept, the global concept, firmly rooted in their minds. Marijane will be (roughly guessing) about 25 years old, out of college, and presumably ready to start working towards her election as a member of some august UN body. Today's youth is learning about peace in a new Pay-As-You-Go Plan, with six years of study ahead.

• Mr. Lowell Johnson agrees with us: "Congratulations on the finest magazine of its kind in print," he writes. "As an instructor in radio writing at Syracuse University I am planning a series of 15-minute dramatic presentations designed to tie the UN to people's own lives. Its main purpose will be to develop a spirit of tolerance and charity toward the UN while it is still in its "adolescent stage."

• "Under the Foreign Affairs section of the Woman's Civic League of Pasadena (nearly 1,000 members) there is to be a subcommittee on the UN and I have agreed to be chairman of that," writes Mrs. Maynard Force Thayer . . . "I value your magazine very highly and felt this last issue particularly fine, for I know we need to make the 'grass roots' more interested in the United Nations. I find so many accept the criticisms of the Federalists or other sincere groups who want to change the charter and believe we can put no faith in it as it is."

500,000 square miles buzzed as the Southwest prepared for UN Week. Fairbanks, vice president of the Los Angeles Chapter of the Am. Assn. confers with Mrs. W. Pichard Hughes, Miss Therese Levy and Mrs. Cay M

• We bought the back cover of the new program magazine, *Agenda,* and invited program chairmen to "get closer to the UN." You'll be glad to know we were swamped with requests—from every state in the Union. What pleased us were the several cases where fairly small communities showed up twice in the same mail, that is, two different groups wrote independently of each other. Examples: Potsdam, N. Y., and Scottsbluff, Nebraska. We offer this as evidence to the scoffers who claim U. S. "grass roots" have no interest in UN.

• This column's hat goes off to the American Federation of International Institutes for undertaking a nation-wide drive to sell UNW and a better understanding of the UN. In each of their 52 branches you will find UNW and volunteer subscription takers. The money earned will help the Institute integrate foreign-born families into the local community.

NOTES: Here's another plan for peace: The Arizona Plan, to exchange elementary and high school students between any and the United Nations. Now House Joint Resolution # zona Legislature) it was co by Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Very. For details write th umn . . . "As chairman of t partment of Foreign Relat the local League of Women I've been doing my best to interest in the UN in this c nity. May I add that I'm UNW extremely valuable. month it seems better," Miss E. Grace Stewart of Wi Illinois . . . Mrs. Luther C International Relations Ch of the Tenth District New Federation of Women's Clu so pleased with a UNW bus Lake Success she wrote t club leaders in her area to te about it . . . The UN Cou Philadelphia has sent out a to its 5,000 members sta part: "At this time when easy world weighs anxious power of the United Nati save the peace, it is of high tance that we of the Coun derstand its tasks and meas accomplishments. The m magazine — UNITED NA WORLD—presents to the i tionalist a factual survey, pensable to the formation sponsible opinion."

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ummary of important speeches, treaties and other international ocuments. Copies available at cost. Send key number to World iles, United Nations World, 385 Madison Avenue, New York 17.

11:47 Four Year Trade Agreeent Between France and Poland

ugust 20, Paris

1. Poland will ship 4,000,000 tons of coal France during the next four years in exange for 7,000,000,000 francs' worth of tomobiles, chemicals and combed wool.

2. The carrying out of this agreement deends on the settlement of French financial aims against Poland. At stake is the reyment of French capital invested in olish industries, now nationalized.

12:47 U. S. Requests U.S.S.R. Open Port of Dairen

ug. 21, Washington

1. Requested information about Soviet acon to reopen port in accordance with Sinoviet agreement in 1945, and pointed out at it would hold the U.S.S.R. responsible r treatment of American interests in airen.

13:47 U.S.-U.S.S.R. Exchange of Notes Re: Petkov

ug. 23, Washington

.S. *Note:* U.S. cannot accept position of viet chairman of Allied Control Commisn that the matter is a purely internal ulgarian matter, and feels that the outme will affect the position of democracy roughout Europe. Hopes that the Soviet vernment will lodge protest, already sent U.S. and U.K.

ug. 26, Moscow

.S.S.R. *Note:* Denies right of the Allied ontrol Commission to pass on decisions ade by Bulgarians regarding Bulgars.

pt. 3, Washington

.S. *Note:* Refers to Yalta agreement and Soviet undertaking in December of 1945 provide friendly advice to Bulgaria. Petv was and is leader of the Agrarian Union, e principal democratic group outside the atherland Front. In abolishing the Agrarn Union, democratic processes have been st aside. Requests U.S.S.R. to review the etkov case and consult with U.S. and K. in an effort to develop a concert of licies in all such matters.

.S.S.R. Reply

pt. 2, Moscow

1. Pointed out that a state of war was still existence with Japan, and therefore the ina Pact re: Dairen was not yet effective.

14:47 Wedemeyer's Statement r China

ıg. 24, Nanking

1. "Throughout strife-torn China there is passionate longing for peace, an early last g peace. I wish the means of attaining it re as easily discernible."

2. "I find apathy and lethargy in many arters. Instead of seeking solutions of oblems presented considerable time and eflort are spent in blaming outside influences and seeking outside assistance."

3. "China still possesses most of the physical resources needed for her own rehabilitation. Recovery awaits inspirational leadership and moral and spiritual resurgence which can only come from within China."

4. Fighting factions, both Communist and Government, should end their differences if they are interested in China's welfare.

5. The Central Government must put widespread political and economic reforms into effect and root out incompetence.

215:47 U. S.-U.S.S.R. Notes Exchanged Re: Korea

Aug. 24, Moscow

U.S.S.R. Note: 1. The Soviet Government believes that "consultation should be conducted with parties and organizations whose membership exceeds 10,000 . . .

2. ". . . parties and organizations supporting the Moscow decision are being subjected by American authorities in South Korea to the most stringent restrictions and heavy persecutions."

3. Requests the U. S. Government to instruct U. S. delegation members to the Joint Commission to abide by the April 1947 agreement between the U. S. and U.S.S.R. The Soviet Government does not object to the U. S. proposal for a report of the joint commission so that both governments may go ahead with the purposes of the Moscow conference.

216:47 U. S. Note to U.S.S.R.

Sept. 17, Washington

1. In view of the Soviet refusal to attend a four power conference to make a decision on Korea, and in view of the fact that bilateral negotiations are not making any progress, suggests that the matter be placed before the General Assembly, and that the Joint Commission hold themselves in readiness to assist the General Assembly in coming to a conclusion.

217:47 Statement on Anglo-French-American Talks at London; Re: German Production

Aug. 28, Washington

1. German rehabilitation not to be given priority over rehabilitation of the democratic countries of Europe.

2. Disarmament, demilitarization and democratization of Germany indispensable, and plans envisaged by Anglo-American zones do not prejudice the establishment of such guarantees.

3. U. S. and U. K. explained that plans for coal mines do not prejudge their future status. The French delegation took note and reserved decision.

4. The French delegation pointed out the need for a definite agreement regarding the chemical and tool industries of Germany and the coal and coke distribution of the Ruhr. On condition that coal production should not be reduced, the U. S. and U. K. agreed to discuss such a plan in Berlin. The French delegation stated it could not withdraw its objections pending a satisfactory outcome of the proposed discussions.

218:47 U. S. Note to U.S.S.R. Re: Germany

Sept. 2, Washington

1. In reply to Soviet note insisting that decisions on Germany as a whole be made only with the consent of the four occupying powers, the U. S. is unable to accept the Soviet Government's interpretation.

2. For the past two years the U. S. has sought to reach agreements whereby Germany would be treated as an economic whole, in accordance with the Potsdam agreement of 1945, and has been fully aware of the need for eliminating Germany's war potential. The Soviet Government has failed to implement the agreement, and placed heavy financial burdens on the U. S. The U. S. therefore feels justified in pursuing objectives which have been commonly agreed upon and making arrangement with any other occupying power concerned.

219:47 Anglo-American Accord on Ruhr

Sept. 10, Washington

1. Agreement signed between U. S. and Great Britain provides for boosting of German coal production, with U. S. and Great Britain having equal voice. Production aim is an increase from the current 240,000 tons a day to 400,000 tons in the next 6 months.

220:47 Great Britain-Burma Pact

Aug. 29, Rangoon

1. After transfer of power from Great Britain to Burma, the British Government will provide a combined naval, air and military mission to help the Burmese build a national defense.

221:47 UNSCOP Report to General Assembly

Sept. 1, Lake Success

The report may be divided roughly into three parts:

1. Eleven points unanimously agreed upon were: termination of the British mandate; Palestine independence as soon as practicable; during transitory period, administering authority to be responsible to the UN; religious places to be held sacred and respected; special and immediate attention be given distressed European Jews; as a prerequisite of an independent Palestine state, constitutional recognition of the principles of UN Charter and guarantee of human rights; preservation of the economic unity of Palestine; invitation of states having special privileges and immunities for their nationals to renounce them; and that the General Assembly call on the people of Palestine to extend fullest cooperation to UN.

On the 12th point, stating that a solution for Palestine is not necessarily a solution for the Jewish problem in general, two members dissented.

2. Majority (Canada, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, the Netherlands, Peru, Sweden and Uruguay) Report recommended the

CUT ALONG DOTTED LINE
For insertion in looseleaf notebook.

partitioning of Palestine into an Arab State, a Jewish State and the City of Jerusalem. During the transitory period the administration of Palestine to be carried on by the U.K. under the auspices of UN, with the aid of another UN state, if desired. The U.K. to take steps toward execution of scheme recommended and carry out the following measures: 1) admit 150,000 Jews into proposed Jewish state, at a uniform monthly rate, and if negotiations last more than two years, at the rate of 60,000 per year. The Jewish Agency for Palestine to be responsible for selection and care of Jewish immigrants and of organizing Jewish immigration. 2) Restrictions in Palestine order of May 25, 1939, not to apply to transfer of land within proposed Jewish state; 3) Constituent assemblies to be elected and to draw up constitutions and to appoint provisional governments empowered to make the declaration and sign the treaty of economic union.

3. Minority (India, Iran and Yugoslavia) propose independent bi-national federal state.

4. The representative of Australia abstained from voting in both cases.

222:47 Britain Resumes Diplomatic Relations with Austria

Sept. 1, London

1. Despite lack of final ratification of peace treaties, Great Britain will resume full diplomatic relations with Austria immediately and end the technical state of war.

223:47 Inter-American Defense Pact

Sept. 2, Rio de Janeiro

1. Signed by 19 American republics pledging concerted action for individual or collective defense, consistent with the provisions of the UN Charter.

2. Provides for notification of the Security Council of all measures undertaken to maintain inter-American peace and security.

3. In case of a disagreement, provides for a consultative body of Foreign Ministers or the governing body of the Pan-American Union to discuss means of settling inter-American disputes.

225:47 Truman Address to Brazilian Congress

Sept. 5, Rio de Janeiro

1. "The United Nations is not a temporary expedient. It is a permanent partnership.

2. "The difficulties we have encountered in this early phase in the life of the UN have not discouraged us. . . . The U. S. is resolved to support the UN with all the resources at its command."

224:47 Truman Address to Inter-American Conference

Sept. 2, Petropolis

1. "We intend to do our best to provide economic help for those who are prepared to help themselves and each other."

2. "Our military strength will be retained as evidence of the seriousness with which we view our obligations."

226:47 Report on Radioactive Isotope Distribution

Sept. 3, Washington

1. U.S. Atomic Energy Commission reports that radioactive isotopes can now be produced in sufficient quantity to permit the twenty most important isotopes for medical and biological research to be made available at reasonable cost to qualified scientists outside the United States of America.

2. Foreign users must agree to make progress reports to the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission every six months; to insure that the isotopes are used for the purpose designated; to permit qualified scientists, regardless of nationality, to visit institutions where they are being used and to obtain information freely.

227:47 U. S. & Italy Sign Treaty

Sept. 3, Rome

1. Governs the withdrawal of U. S. troops from Italian theatre upon deposit of instruments of ratification of Peace Treaty.

2. U. S. troops to be left in Trieste area to receive supplies through the Adriatic without transit through Italy.

228:47 Argentina Grants Women Suffrage

Sept. 9, Buenos Aires

Women granted right to vote in presidential and congressional elections.

229:47 U. S. and British Statements to Iran

Sept. 11, Teheran

1. In a statement to the Iran-America Relations Society, on the eve of Russo-Iranian negotiations re: oil concessions, U. S. Ambassador George V. Allen declared that: "Patriotic Iranians, when considering matters affecting their national interest, may . . . rest assured that the American people will support fully their freedom to make their own choice."

2. Sir John La Rougetel, British Ambassador to Iran, informed the Shah and the Iranian Premier that Britain favored continued Iranian negotiations with the Soviet even if Parliament rejected the proposed oil concessions.

230:47 Greek Amnesty Bill Adopted

September 13, Athens

The Greek Parliament passed a bill giving unconditional amnesty to guerrillas in the north, provided they surrender within thirty days.

231:47 U.S.R.R. Note to Turkey

Sept. 17, Istanbul

Supported Yugoslav protests against alleged admittance into Turkey of Yugoslav war criminals and Russian Moslems interned in Germany during the war.

232:47 U. S. Credit Agreements with Finland and the Philippines

Sept. 19, Washington

Each country to receive $10,000,000 credits for purchase of U. S. surplus equipment.

233:47 Trade Pact Between Hungary and Anglo-American Zone

September 20, Berlin

1. Immediate opening of mails and telephone and telegraph communications between Hungary and Germany.

2. Hungary will import chemicals, dyestuffs and machine products. She will export legumes, leather, hardwoods, veneers, glue and seeds to western Germany.

234:47 Report of Paris Conference on Marshall

September 22, Washington

1. The report is divided into eight chapters. Its opening chapters give the purpose of the conference and report which may be summed up as follows:

a) To formulate an economic recovery program for the countries participating which aims at European recovery by 1951, based on: 1) a strong concerted production effort by each country; 2) development of internal financial stability; 3) the greatest possible cooperation between the participating countries; 4) a solution of the problem of the participating countries' trading deficit with the American continent, particularly by exports.

2. The problem before the participating countries is to revive and expand production so as to eliminate abnormal demand on the outside world and to produce sufficient goods for export to cover imports.

3. Recovery program to achieve the following results: restoration of prewar bread grain and other cereal production, increase in livestock; increase of one-third above 1947 levels in coal production; expansion of about 40% over 1947 level for electricity; development of oil refining of about two and one-half times over pre-war level; increase of steel production about 80% over 1947 level; increase of about 51% over 1938 in inland transportation; restoration of prewar merchant fleets of participating countries; supply from European production of most of the capital equipment needed.

4. In order to create financial stability and stop inflation in many countries foreign assistance of approximately $3,000,000,000 is needed immediately. However, no exact figure can be estimated as yet.

5. Maximum use will be made of their own raw resources by participating countries. A customs union is proposed by the French government and the Italian government associates itself with this declaration.

6. Mutual help to increase supplies of rare commodities and increase flow of trade between participating countries has been agreed upon, and special problems to achieve collective action are: exploitation of new sources of electric power; encouragement of the standardization of mining and electrical supplies and freight cars; international study of the flows of traffic; arrangements for interchange of information by steel-producing countries regarding modernization, etc.

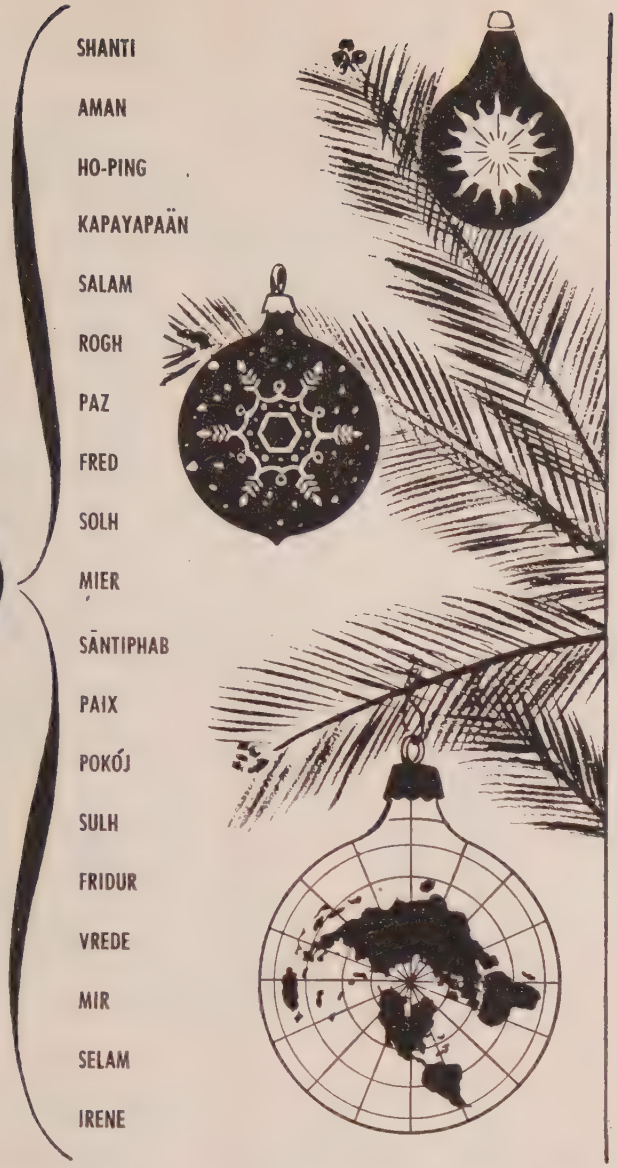
7. Arrangements have been made to continue work of mutual help and consultation through UN and other ways.

8. Participating countries will be in need of large quantities of food, fuel, raw materials and capital equipment. Rationing of these items will be necessary.

9. The anticipated deficit of participating countries and western Germany, which may be met in part through the International Bank for Development and Reconstruction, private investments and in some cases by the use of available assets is:

	Billions of Dollars
1948	8.04
1949	6.35
1950	4.65
1951	3.40
Total	22.44

Estimated imports could be reduced by loans from the International Bank or other credit sources for financing of agricultural and coal-mining machinery in the sum of 3.11 billions of dollars. Only if there is a sufficient flow of dollars to the rest of the world to enable participating countries to earn dollars will it be possible to offset the dollar deficit with the American continent. The American continent must allow Europe and other parts of the world to sell goods in increasing quantities if the maladjustment is to be righted.



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COMPETITORS *De Groene Amsterdammer,* Amsterdam.

THE CRYSTAL BALL *The Gazette,* Mo

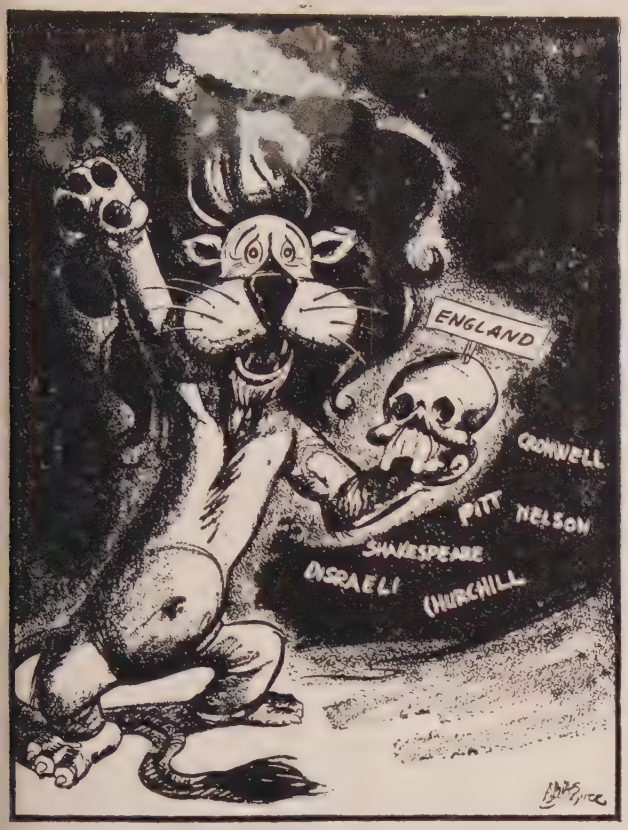
STALIN:

"Don't imagine it alarms me
Or fills me with dismay,
But tell me if you can
Whether in that disarmament plan
You include this little thing?"

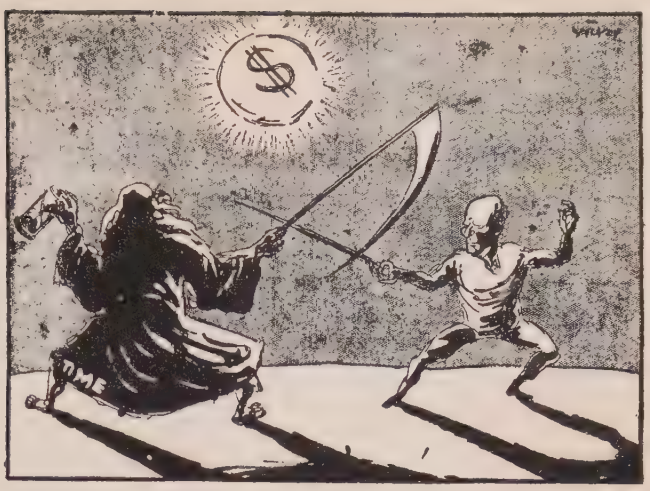
El Diario, La Paz.

THE BIG GAME *The Gazette,* Mo

Great Britain's Economic Crisis



THE CRISIS "To be or not to be," that is the question . . .
Excelsior, Mexico City.



DUEL IN THE SUN *De Stem van Nederland*, Amsterdam.

THE "BELOVED" COUSINS *Hoy*, Havana.

THE BATTLE OF BRITAIN, 1947
De Groene Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.

WHEN DOCTORS DIFFER
The Financial Times, Johannesburg.

PARIS, FRANCE—Then and now

BY HOWARD CLURMAN
Author, Theatrical Producer, Director

THE first time I saw Paris was in 1921, that is, three years after the first world war. I had gone there to study at the Sorbonne because Paris, it appeared, was the center of the world. The last time I saw Paris was only yesterday, almost three years after its liberation from the Nazi yoke.

The Paris of 1947 is much less "gay." I am not talking in terms of night clubs and dancing. I mean that what is lively, interesting, provocative and characteristic has an altogether new color. It is not a color that might be given the piquant or even eruptive emphasis once conveyed by the word "amusing." Paris today is damned serious.

If Parisians were poor in 1921 they still treasured the dream of luxury. If revolt appealed to them they still believed they might enjoy it in comfort. Today they are very careful about kicking over the traces. Liberation without a plan provides no smiling perspective. To declare oneself "lost" in 1921 was something of a sham. One never believed oneself unprotected. Remember that the dominant political party then was still the Radical-Socialist — neither radical nor socialist, only anti-clerical, mildly liberal and wholly middle-class. The outstanding writers—Proust and Gide—were still able to live on independent incomes. Their immediate literary progeny—Aragon, Cocteau and others—were either savage juveniles howling their disgust over the breakdown their elders had foreseen or esthetic playboys cavorting about the graceful ruins. "If we can't have anything else," they seemed to be saying, "let us have fun!"

No Nonsense Now

The Paris of 1947 is strangely subdued. Even its hope in the U. S. is filled with misgivings. The base of a solid middle class is almost wholly dissolved. The new generation does not think itself "lost" because that would imply a remembered home. The way back is gone and very few are even looking in that direction. It is the way forward that is not clear. The dominant trait in the youth of the twenties was a horror of the war it had won; the mark of the present youth is its terrible fear of the war that may come.

The basic tendencies are what count. Apart from a study of political programs, a probing of the intellectual and cultural fields becomes an essential activity in relation to the understanding of French life in general. Ideas are explored and the arts practiced more intensely and with greater scope than ever. Despite the poverty of the country, which makes it extremely difficult for even a well known writer to make his living from writing alone, Paris has 361 publishing houses, 45 theaters playing "legitimate" drama in which during the season of 1946-47, 145 new productions were presented—almost twice the number done in N. Y. during the same period. Not only are there some 60,000 professional painters in Paris, but five out of eight Frenchmen paint for their own pleasure. Museums are crowded as never before. The leading literary monthly *Fontaine* has more than twice the circulation of the equivalent publication—*La Nouvelle Revue Française*—before the war. A lecture on a cultural subject that might have attracted 300 listeners in 1938 today will attract more than 1000. Most of the publications do not follow any strict party line, but many are closely allied with the various political orientations. Left socialist and Communist publications are reputed to command a reading public of 5,000,000. Most significant of all is André Malraux's statement that the harmless academicians of old are thoroughly discredited. The adventurous artists are practically the only ones that command attention.

The dadaists and many fo surrealists—like Aragon and T —are now Communists. André ton is the spokesman of the u generate anarchist elements wi these old movements. These ments are fighting a rear-guard tion to preserve their independ of "political" pressure. They the unresolved and uncapt spirit of the sensitive Frenchm wandering in space looking f home—or a form. Their contr tions to the arts of painting poetry are undeniable even tho as in all basically anarchist t encies, there is a distinct drift ward flim-flam and corruption.

The Existentialists

The literary success of the tentialists is significant chiefly cause they represent the mid class intellectual unable to ac the religious premises of the Ca lics and unwilling to devote th selves to the concrete aims of Communists. Existentialism is sentially the attitude of people recognize that there are no alternatives in modern life, but assert nevertheless that man m act. Man is isolated, anguished without assurance of anything his need to take steps towar goal that he appoints for hi through the impulse of his nee live. This is a pragmatism for trapped.

The existentialists do not scribe a definite line of actio define a particular good except possibility of discovery. They without a political program, th Jean Paul Sartre, the head of "school," claims to be somethi a socialist. An existentialist m become anything, do anyth With the coming of further c in French life we shall see what existentialist does become and w he does do. At the moment, I pect that the best of them headed for the Academy.

The most significant literary

s just now is Albert Camus's vel *La Peste* (*The Plague*). mus is not an "official" existenlist but his book offers a clear inht into the moral situation which es rise to existentialism. The gue of Camus's novel is an epinic disease that infests a particr city but it is used here as a nbol of Evil itself. Camus porys various reactions to Evil. The diocre, he tells us, will try to ve it aside, the corrupt will trafwith it, the desperate will plunge o it even though it destroy them, godly will fight and accept it the same time (since Evil too ongs to God), the humanist nt will die on the side of the vic- and the narrator (Camus), ly aware that Evil as part of the ture of things is ineradicable, l devote himself nonetheless to nbating it—finding his only saltion in the struggle itself.

There is something clean and althy in this grave morality, beise while it never specifically des evil except as that which deoys man, it is both humble and, the secular sense, devout. It is attitude which for the moment n't commit itself to anything tside of that which is truly exrienced by the man who proims it. As a program for the age is much too abstract, as a statent of a transitional mood it has dignity and its positive use.

e Promise for France

ind the Camus book typical of th the strength and weakness, th the hopeful and dangerous pects of present-day France. The peful and positive features within at appears to be chiefly negative what I should like to emphasize. see in France's very pessimism possibility of a rebirth and a mergence into sanity. The fierce d sometimes terrifying colors at strike one in French art today nify not only the bitterness of general situation but also a y acute consciousness of it. It in that consciousness that I see particular promise of France.

Amid the troubled faces that one serves in the streets of Paris toy, one also sees many that are n, clear, tempered and uncorpt. They are generally the faces people between 20 and 35. They k as if they realize fully that re is as much difficulty ahead as behind. Yet they look calm. They appear resolved to survive the ordeal, however severe, and to discover a real, a satisfying solution in the process.

books from everywhere

International Affairs

THE CULTURAL APPROACH by Ruth Emily McMurry and Muna Lee. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press. $3.50.

According to the authors of this study, governments are realizing more and more the value of cultural programs to develop friendly relations and "intangible good will" between their own and other peoples. For the same investment in effort and funds, no other measure has been so successful toward building peace. The study confines itself to the long-range programs developed by 10 governments—France, Germany, Japan, U.S.S.R., Great Britain, U.S. and, more briefly, Chile, Argentina, Brazil and Mexico. First in the field was France, during the last half of the 19th century, with its hospitals and schools in the Near and Far East. Last to establish an official government program was the United States in 1938, with its Division of Cultural Relations under the Department of State. It is pointed out that there is a form of benign propaganda and, on the other hand, the cultural activities used by totalitarian states "to pave the way for a complete dictatorship over the lives of foreign peoples." But the more the first type is employed in good faith, the less opportunity the second will have to succeed.

Europe

END OF A BERLIN DIARY by William L. Shirer. New York, Knopf. $3.50.

Shirer gives his record of "the most momentous year any of us have ever lived through—the year of Our Lord 1945." It was indeed a year crowded with significant matters, the defeat of Germany and Japan, the arrival of the atomic age, the San Francisco Conference, birth of the United Nations. The first section, laid in the United States, has for its dominant theme the hope of permanent peace. It was inevitable that Shirer felt impelled to return to the Germany he left in 1940 and see for himself what had happened—to set down his own postscript. But the postscript lacks the vitality and driving power of *Berlin Diary*, which brought the brutal Nazi story home to shocked millions.

Among the best things in the book are the description of 1945 Berlin in ruins in contrast to the proud city of

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1940, a selection from the 1400 tons of secret German documents captured by the Allies, very revealing of the official Nazi mind, and the visit to the Nuremberg trials. From his observations he finds that "what the Germans regret is not that they made this war, but that they lost it. . . . There is no sense of guilt or even remorse." He is happy to leave Germany and the Germans, and he is relieved that the Berlin story is fading out of his life. But the world still has Germany with it and the job of solving the problems the Nazis left will occupy many more years —and books.

STRUGGLE FOR GERMANY by Russell Hill. Harper & Bros. $3.00.

Countless books have been and are being written on Germany, but none states the intricate German problem and what lies back of its intricacies more simply and concisely for the general reader than STRUGGLE FOR GERMANY. Russell Hill was one of the best U.S. war correspondents. His insistence on facts as against rumors, personal investigation as against hearsay, above all, his objectivity, are reflected in this thoughtful review of the situation.

The situation, he says, has been complicated and confused because there are really two problems. The first is what the Allies could do, militarily and economically, to prevent Germany from becoming strong enough to start another war. The second has to do with the relations among the victorious Allies who "had to make peace with each other before they could make peace with Germany." He offers plenty of sound criticism of the administration and lack of agreement in all four zones. Belonging to the group which sponsors a reunited Germany with the chance to build up its economy to self-supporting status, he suggests that a small Allied occupation force could investigate and control any violations in regard to prohibited manufactures. Whatever the plan and method, he stresses the urgency of a German settlement. But his discerning analysis of the policies and motivations of the four countries occupying Germany does not offer promise of an early solution.

THE LAST DAYS OF HITLER by H. R. Trevor-Roper. New York, Macmillan. $3.00.

Were it not for the exceedingly trustworthy reputation of Mr. Trevor-Roper, one might be tempted to consider this book a work of fiction. Its setting and characters are sufficiently fantastic to merit being picked up by one of the more sensational Hollywood studios. This report, originally written at the request of the British Government, is the result of months of careful investigation, sifting of facts and questioning of witnesses. Its purpose is to prove that Hitler *is* dead, and the author makes a convincing argument for his thesis. He gives the testimony of eye-witnesses to the suicide and burning of the cor of Hitler and Eva Braun.

The events of the previous week carefully recorded from oral testimo diaries and evidence found on the s It was an orgy of emotion, frenzy, h despair and death. The marriage of H ler and Eva is explained as a rew for Eva's faithfulness. Of the intim coterie, Goebbels stands out as the c man with even a modicum of clar The book is a lever in destroying Hitler myth.

Asia

CHINA AWAKE by Rob Payne, New York, Dodd, Me & Co. $4.00.

THE REVOLT OF ASIA Robert Payne. New York, Jo Day. $3.50.

Robert Payne, in almost a frenzy creation, is pouring forth a stream books as a result of his years in A and contacts with Asians. Two y ago came *Forever China*, and CHINA AWAKE, also written in d form, the entries from December, 1 to August, 1946. Payne was teach English at Lienta in Kunming du the last phases of the war. Being c to the students and a few of the eral professors, he makes one feel fervor of the young Chinese. Her a very touching and human port of Wen Yi-tuo, China's great sch who was assassinated by paid gangs just as this book closes. Moving tense, too, is the account of the d and funeral of the Kunming stud "killed by accident." The book great variety, richness and sensiti From descriptions of landscapes as cate and aware in detail as an Chinese scroll, Payne can turn to at corruption in government or benignly with an old peasant. He l the peasants and students. His visi Yenan and talks with Mao Tse- and others confirmed him in his that the peasants and students are real hope in an awakening China.

In THE REVOLT OF ASIA, Ro Payne probes into the new consci ness of freedom growing throug Asia and coming closer to realiza since the recent war years. He anal the Indonesian revolt, then the m ments in India, China, Indo-China, ma, Malaya, the Philippines and K Believing it is essential for the We understand the top Asian leade Gandhi, Nehru, Jinnah, Shjarir, Tse-tung and Chiang Kai-shek reaches deeply into their characters motives and appraises the book which they have set down their litical philosophies. Regardless of present uncertain status with the N erlands, he considers the Indon revolution the most successful of al Asiatic independence movements Shjarir, the Indonesian leader, the significant in concentrated force o tellect and real achievement. The according to Payne, is going str forward to its own freedom—no colonial exploitation. The West fo own good must not fail in frien

technical assistance. This chal-
ng book leaves the reader with the
ght that East and West may com-
ent each other to advantage, but
next move is up to the West.

*ERICAN TARIFF POL-
Y TOWARDS THE PHIL-
PINES, 1898-1946, by Pedro
Abelarde. New York, King's
wn Press. $2.75.*

his detailed study on the making of
f laws for the Philippines from the
days of the U. S. occupation to the
pendence of the islands in 1946
d be ponderous reading for the lay-
. Its real value is to government
political science specialists; and for
the interest will be heightened
use the author is a Filipino, and
es both from the point of view of a
ino and a scholar. Professor Abe-
views the results of a half century
hilippine dependence on the U. S.
ood rather than detrimental; but he
ves that whatever form and phi-
hy of government the Philippines
eventually develop will be molded
he effect of many years of U. S.
lation on Philippine social and eco-
ic life. Appraising the Philippine
abilitation and Trade Acts of 1946,
inds both benefits and disadvan-
s, but "both acts stand in need of
ementation before they can become
rally effective."

SR

*ERATION MOSCOW by
istopher Norborg. New York,
P. Dutton & Co. $3.50.*

his discussion of Russia and the
d's peace, Dr. Norborg wears no
gloves. He offers no diplomatic
ishes or apologies for his blunt
ments. In his view there are two
sias. "One is the monumental and
-suffering Russian people." The
r is "the imperialist Stalinist
rchy of the Politburo . . . self-ad-
sed enemy of the free world."
plying psychoanalysis to the Polit-
, he says that Soviet leaders are
ssed with persecution mania and
rmal fears born of their own back-
nds, that they do not see eye to
with the "free democracies" nor
the "free peoples" understand the
ves of the Kremlin group, whose
y is still dominated by "the ex-
ling Soviet world revolution" and
lacable enmity to the free institu-
and free enterprises of Western
ocracy."
ith the impasse unsolved, Dr. Nor-
believes that the Western democra-
can lose no time in getting to-
er and, without violating the UN
ter, formulating strong new poli-
"to prevent the further encroach-
s of the Soviet police force upon
overeignty of free states." In short,
dvocates regional police agencies,
thorities, with power to take ac-
against any future attempt at ag-
ion.

Canada

NEWFOUNDLAND, Economic, Diplomatic and Strategic Studies, Edited by R. A. MacKay. Toronto, Oxford University Press. $8.50.

Can a people with a low standard of living, however democracy-minded, afford the luxury of political autonomy? These related studies on Newfoundland, which in 1933 gave up its status as a self-governing Dominion because of desperate financial straits and is today, although about to reassume control of its own affairs, still uncertain of its course, illustrate only too well the interdependence of politics and economics. During the war Newfoundland experienced a sudden prosperity due to its strategic importance as an air base. But essentially this is a poor land, with its hardy Anglo-Saxon population scattered thinly along 6,000 miles of coast, its economy too dependent upon the export of cod and a few other staple products. A "deep-seated opposition" to union with Canada because of the latter's "niggardly" attitude in 1894 has so far blocked the proposal most frequently advanced by way of solution. This volume skilfully probes into underlying causes and suggests alleviating measures for a situation that (short of One World) seems to defy cure.

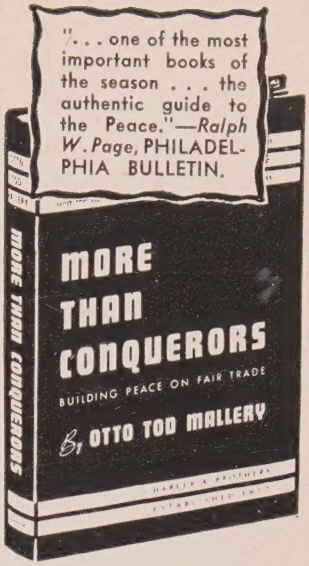
Latin America

ARGENTINA, 1941-1946, by Ruth and Leonard Greenup. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press. $4.00.

Starting out on high with the "best smelling revolt in history"—General Rawson's field kitchens emitting the delicious odor of *puchero*, the national stew—Ruth and Leonard Greenup take us nimbly through their four stirring years, during which Argentina had five presidents followed by Perón. Doing newspaper work in Buenos Aires, the Greenups had a joint monthly income of $125. Frugality gave them the advantage of living in the stream of everyday Argentine life, meeting and becoming friendly with various types of Argentinians. They write of alluring Buenos Aires restaurants, inexpensive and fabulously abundant, of lotteries and the passion for gambling, also of the passion for reading and what is read; and they tell spicy anecdotes of Farrell and Perón that were current during their stay.

But they didn't miss much of what was happening in Argentina in a political way during those war years, either. The growth of the dictatorship threads its way through the book—secret police, jailed liberals, totalitarian schools, muffled press, powerless courts.

Brentano's has asked us to correct their error in an advertisement in the October issue. Raoul Aglion, author of the *Dictionnaire Juridique* is special advisor to the Secretary General of the United *Nations*, not of the U. S.



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The UN Is Here To Stay

An Editorial

DURING the early days of October, some discreet but effective political behind-the-scenes maneuverings began at the General Assembly of the UN. Czechoslovakia, Sweden, Norway and New Zealand were attempting unobtrusively to bridge the latest and most dangerous tension between the eastern and western blocs.

The French delegation was contemplating a similar move to start immediately after Foreign Minister Bidault's return from Paris, following the important French municipal elections on October 19. While Bidault was negotiating, both at the UN and in Washington, back in France several members of the government expressed extreme anxiety over the worsening of the general political atmosphere at Lake Success. This anxiety became so strong that the President of the French Republic, Vincent Auriol himself, in an unprecedented break with political tradition which dictates that a chief of state make no major policy pronouncements before a Cabinet decision, expressed France's desire for an international reconciliation to save the peace of the world. The United Kingdom, too, has recently added its voice to those of other nations attempting to effect a compromise.

The casual remarks dropped at cocktails and dinners by various delegates eventually reached the ears of Mr. Vishinsky. Of course, he continued to attack vigorously what he called "war-mongering policies," but underneath there began to emerge a small but perceptible note of compromise which encouraged the intermediaries.

THE first turn of the tide came when the U.S. agreed to modify its resolution blaming Greece's neighbors for the troubles in the Balkans. The second, even more decisive gesture was the announcement of the USSR's policy on the Palestine problem along lines almost similiar to those expressed a week earlier by U.S. representative Mr. Herschel Johnson.

Since this Russian pronouncement was made, optimism has been growing in the General Assembly. Some delegates pointed out that the Assembly might reach much more constructive and hopeful agreements at its conclusion than during the first difficult four weeks. The General Assembly of 1946, too, seemed utterly lost until the last three weeks. Then, suddenly, both the Foreign Ministers' Conference and the General Assembly quickly arrived at a succession of almost complete agreements.

The situation still remains precarious, but the prospect of the General Assembly's ending with no concrete results is so appaling to most participants, that intense—even spectacular—efforts at compromise may be expected before the delegates return home fo the Christmas holidays.

We understand that some of the world's most im portant political personalities may make their appea ance before long in the Assembly hall at Flushin Meadow to reverse the present trend.

DESPITE the succession of critical events, mo statesmen are convinced that the United Na tions organization must and will continue. The intima tion in many newspapers that UN is on its last leg is both a gross misrepresentation and short-sighte speculation.

No responsible government has expressed any in tention either to withdraw from UN or to reduce i effective participation in the various UN activitie Nor has a single parliament or senate in the worl ever considered a move directed toward rejecting th solemn pledge of the Allied peoples to establish permanent international organization. No U.S. sena tor or congressman—even the most isolationist—ha dared advocate publicly that his country withdra from the UN. In fact, seven nations are still clamorin for admission. Even the Vatican, has sent official ob servers to meetings of UN agencies. For peoples, go ernments and parliaments alike realize that when th only machinery for peace is destroyed, the alternativ will inevitably be an unchecked armament race—an an atomic war.

THE favorite argument of those who have so ofte predicted the death of the UN is that the USS will withdraw from the world organization. This i of course, in complete contradiction to historic prece dent. The policy of Soviet Russia has always been t remain in any organization in which she had accepte membership until the bitter end. Furthermore, it ob viously would not be in the USSR's interest to aban don the greatest existing international institution, thu removing herself from the international communit Nor has any other major power—and certainly no the U.S.—any intention of taking the responsibilit for destroying what constitutes man's last hope.

Whatever the fate of mankind may be, whateve aggression or punishment of aggressors may occur, a long as the world remains interdependent, as long a modern civilization with its technological progre exists, there will always be a need for internation organization—*there will always be a UN!*

Great modifications and improvements are no doul necessary and will certainly be made in time, but th principle of international organization has become a integral part of our lives.

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